REPORT RESUMES

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A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF CONFORMING AND DEVIATING BEHAVIOR AMONG ADOLESCENTS.

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DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF ADOLESCENT STUDENTS AND THE FACTORS UNDERLYING CONFORMITY-PERFORMANCE-DEVIANT BEHAVIOR WERE ATTEMPTED, AND A PREDICTIVE MEASURE OF NONCONFORMITY WAS FORMULATED. A QUESTIONNAIRE WAS DEVELOPED TO MEASURE ATTITUDES OF ADOLESCENTS TOWARD THE MAJOR VALUE AREAS OF AMERICAN CULTURES, ADOLESCENT PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL CONTROLS, AND SELF-RATINGS OF BEHAVIOR. IT WAS ADMINISTERED TO 22,000 CHILDREN IN THE SEVENTH THROUGH NINTH GRADES IN THE PUBLIC, PRIVATE, AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS OF 1 COUNTY IN IOWA. A SAMPLE OF MORE THAN 1,000 BOYS WAS SELECTED AND INTERVIEWED TO OBTAIN THEIR VIEWS ON SOCIAL CONTROLS, AND CASE HISTORIES WERE OBTAINED. THE 2 CLOSEST FRIENDS OF EACH OF 300 MEMBERS OF A STRUCTURED PROBABILITY SAMPLE WERE THEN INTERVIEWED TO OBTAIN DATA ON PEER-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS. JUVENILE COURT RECORDS PROVIDED INFORMATION ON DEVIANT BEHAVIOR OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE, AND SCHOOL AUTHORITIES GAVE INFORMATION ON STUDENTS WHO EITHER PRESENTED ATTENDANCE PROBLEMS OR WITHDREW FROM SCHOOL. CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENTIATION EXISTS WITHIN THE POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO CONFORMITY AND DEVIATION RELATIVE TO SOCIAL NORMS. NEITHER THE CONFORMERS TO, NOR THE DEVIATORS FROM, ANY NORM OR SET OF SOCIAL NORMS SHOULD BE SEEN AS A HOMOGENEOUS ENTITY FOR PURPOSES OF CAUSAL ANALYSIS. THE TYPES OF CONFORMERS AND DEVIATORS IDENTIFIED IN THIS STUDY MIGHT SERVE AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION. (JL)

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STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF CONFORMING AND DEVIATING BEHAVIOR AMONG ADOLESCENTS

A Final Report of Research

Under Contract Project 507 (8133)

A Cooperative Research Project

of

The United States Office of Education

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The State University of Iowa

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October 31, 1959
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3414A

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Chapter I

Introduction

A pressing internal problem of American society is adolescent behavior which deviates from the social norms. The adult public becomes increasingly concerned as youths are beaten, mutilated, and sometimes gunned down on the very steps of a high school. Various institutions (legal, educational, and religious) are held by the mass media to be responsible. Persons who are concerned about adolescent conforming and deviating behavior are confused by conflicting claims that one factor or another is "the" cause of delinquency, truancy, or other adolescent behavior not fitting adult expectations. Various theories have been offered by social scientists to account for delinquency as it is legally defined. One approach which has gained increasing acceptance is that which includes different types of legally defined delinquency as special kinds of nonconformity which are subsumed within a whole range of adolescent behaviors which vary from the mode of activity to both hyperconformity and extreme deviation. At the descriptive level of investigation the universal distribution of various behaviors and of attitudes and norms regarding these behaviors is often assumed. One of the purposes of this study is to describe the distribution of certain values, norms and acts within a total adolescent population. Another purpose is to examine patterns of deviation from these values, norms and acts which prevail or are dominant in one youthful population.

Some social scientists argue that there are pressures toward deviation as well as conformity which are inherent in the structure of our society.[1]

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[1] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949) pp. 125, 126.

They argue that inconsistencies in norms which prescribe the means for obtaining goals which are more or less significant for the total society result in strains which are resolved in a number of ways which deviate to a greater or lesser degree from the societal prescription.[2] It is also argued that both the conforming and deviant means to goal attainment are not uniformly distributed in the total population. The accessibility of those things which are most valued and the means of obtaining them are differentially distributed according to one's position in the social structure. This position is defined by such things as age, sex, race, socioeconomic status and a host of other attributes.[3] Position in the social structure determines whether conforming or deviant patterns of adaptation to societal demans are more readily available and influences whether or not deviant (or delinquent) adaptations will be chosen.[4] An example of this theoretical formulation is given by Merton. He states that accumulation of great wealth is a dominant goal in our society and that the means to attainment of this goal are those derived from Protestant asecticism: hard work, thrift, frugality, and perserverance in the face of repeated setbacks. He reasons that while the goal is almost universally accepted, the opportunity for economic success are not equally distributed in the society. Therefore, those who have little chance of success may: (1) mechanically continue to strive, (2) adopt alternative (illegitimate) means or, (3) give up the struggle. (He lists other solutions as well, e.g., rejection of both goal and means and substitution of new ones). This theoretical formulation raises a number of avenues for investigation. In the case of adaptation (2), do conformers and delinquents differ in the degree to which they accept the major success goals and legitimate means for attaining these goals? What are the consequences of being male or female, white or Negro, high or low socioeconomic status for either accepting or rejecting the goals and means or justifying the use of illegitimate means as legitimate? This study is concerned with finding answers to these questions.

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 133-147.

[3] Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," in *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Revised Edition (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954) pp. 89-103.

[4] Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137 and Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24 (April, 1959) pp. 169-173.

"Getting a 'good' education" can be assumed to have general approval throughout the society as a legitimate way of attaining the economic success goal.[5] Guided by democratic values, our national policy is to provide equal educational opportunities for all children (at least through our secondary schools) at government expense. One of the goals of this policy is to insure that all youths may enter the struggle for economic success after having had an equal chance to be educated up to a certain minimum level of competence. (Of course, this policy is related to other goals such as being educated to the point of being able to read about and comprehend the issues in elections so that one may vote "intelligently.") School attendance is made compulsory in an attempt to insure that all youths will attain this level of minimum competence. Other tasks are also relegated to the school. These pertain to the school as a normative and controlling institution over child and adolescent behavior.[6]

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[5] Ibid., p. 130.

[6] There seems to be a trend toward increasing allocation of socializing functions to the schools. The schools are charged with failing to present

The policy of compulsory attendance involves certain strains toward deviance. The problem became one of forcing children to attain this level of minimum competence when they are, in fact, unequal. The inequality has several facets: differences in native ability and differences in resources (such as verbal facility) which are status linked.[7] Previous research also shows that motivation for adequate role performance is differentially provided for or distributed according to ascribed status.[8] Given the policy of equality of expectations with respect to minimum competence and the policy of compulsory attendence in the face of these inequalities, one might predict that the higher the social position in American society the more likely one is to accept the school as an institution controlling behavior (other things such as ability being equal). Conversely, given low status and poor ability, the greater is the rejection of school both as a controlling institution and as an arena for success striving.

The status of being an adolescent in our society is said to be one of nonconformity--sometimes identified as a period after puberty and before taking over the expectations and responsibilities of connected with the adult status,

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sufficient anti-criminal attitudes and ideals. Frank J. O'Brien, "The Role of Social Service in Education," National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook, 1944, pp. 120-133.

[7] Robert Havighurst and Leota Long Janke, "Relations Between Ability and Social Status in a Midwestern Community: I.Ten-Year-Old Children," Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 35, pp. 356-368, 1944, and "II. Sixteen-Year-Old Boys and Girls," Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 499-509, 1945; and see Kenneth Eells, et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[8] Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 23 (1953) pp. 186-203; and William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

in which there is a certain moratorium on selected aspects of conformity. During this period the values of the adolescent peer group often supplant and conflict with those of the adult population. Given the situation of compulsory participation in an unequal competition which has been described, one might expect that lower class boys and girls are more likely than higher status ones to place peer authority above school authority. This is a proposition to be tested in this study.

It follows from this reasoning that where the opportunities and abilities for school achievement or preparation for economic success striving are class linked, lower status adolescents will feel the greatest status discontent and will be more likely to reject achievement orientation and the acquisition of performance skills pertaining to achievement in schools which crosscut the class structure. This should be particularly true in crosscut schools where distribution of socioeconomic status groups is skewed toward the upper status groups.

Students of working class culture suggest that there may be a patterned evasion of laws pertaining to compulsory school attendance and of norms requiring active competition for grades and other middle class rewards.[9] A large part of this study is devoted to this problem. Are the educational norms and goals of conforming, truant, and delinquent adolescents influenced by group position in American society? How do factors other than socioeconomic status such as race, sex, I.Q. school milieu relate to delinquency, truancy, dropping out of school, educational and occupational aspiration, and norms pertaining to school attendance and achievement? What are the pressures from parents and peers to go on to college, or to drop out of school? What are the consequences for aspiration and achievement of being a Negro boy with a high I.Q. from a "white-collar" family occupational level or a white girl of average intelligence from a "blue-collar" home who competes for good grades in a school where nearly all of the competitors are "white-collar" students? These are some of the questions which this study seeks to answer by a kind of structural analysis.

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[9] Wilbur B. Brookover, A Sociology of Education, (New York: American Book Company, 1955) pp. 85-87 and A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1949) pp. 156-157; (and by implication) p. 164.

If one accepts the hypothesis of Albert K. Cohen that status discontent in general and more specifically that being forced into the educational competition where one is at a disadvantage operate to produce and maintain a delinquent subculture, then another hypothesis follows.[10] The corollary hypothesis is that lower class boys are more likely to choose a delinquent solution to their status problem when they are in schools with a large status span than when they are enrolled in a school which is predominantly lower class in status composition.

This raises the whole question of status differences in the extent and quality of delinquency. Speculation on the relationship between low socioeconomic status or poverty and crime antedates social science as such by more than two thousand years. Modern observers continue to report the relationship.[11] There are some social scientists who argue that this difference is more apparent than real--that if information about hidden delinquency could be obtained, status differences in rates of crime or delinquent acts would disappear or sharply attenuate.[12] These persons observe that high status youths and adults report a variety of acts which would have resulted in a court record if apprehended. They say that our whole system of justice operates against an upper status person becoming a court statistic and toward a lower status person becoming a court statistic.[13] Others challenge this position.[14] They state that while there is some correspondence in the kinds of acts which upper status and lower status self-reported delinquents commit, that court reported lower status delinquents commit these acts with greater frequency--therefore, they are more likely to be apprehended, arrested, and taken to court.[15] Cohen, on the other hand, argues that there is a difference in the frequency and the quality of lower-class subcultural delinquent activity.[16] This delinquent activity is characterized by greater frequency, greater versatility in kind of act and greater frequency of non-utilitarian, malicious, negativistic, and characterized by short-run hedonistic aims. Thus, one finds disagreement about status differences in the extent, and quality of hidden delinquency and about the relationship or lack of relationship between hidden delinquency and delinquency which is

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[10] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955) pp 130-131.

[11] Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (University of London Press, 1938) pp. 68-69; W. C. Kvaraceus, "Juvenile Delinquency and Social Class," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 18 (September, 1944) pp. 51-54. These are only two of the many studies which report this relationship.

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[12] Austin L. Porterfield, Youth in Trouble (Forth Worth: The Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946) and James S. Wallerstein and Clement J. Wyle, "Our Law-abiding Law-breakers," National Probation (March-April, 1947) pp. 107-112.

[13] Porterfield, op.cit., p. 48 and William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941) pp. 373-377.

[14] Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955) p. 232.

[15] Fred J. Murphy, "Delinquency Off the Record," Yearbook of the National Probation and Parole Association, 1946, pp. 178-195.

[16] Cohen, op. cit., p. 25-30.

reflected in court statistics.

In view of these conflicting observations about the prevalence and quality of hidden delinquency versus court recorded delinquency, further investigation of these relationships is warranted. In spite of these divergent views regarding status differences in delinquency, most of the studies show that a much larger proportion of the population as a whole engages in delinquent acts than official statistics generally show. This study involves some attempt to investigate the prevalence of hidden delinquency. It is hypothesized that unreported delinquent acts are more likely than reported acts to be the kind of offenses for which (1) there is low public moral indignation (such as: traffic offenses, occasional truancy, etc.) or (2) there is a low incidence of arrest in a population (such as: sex offenses, violation of blue laws, or other petty offenses and minor acts of property destructions). Disregarding the question of status differences for the moment, one may ask whether having an official juvenile court record indicates that incidence of all acts, particularly repeated acts, is greater than it is for unofficial court delinquents or for those delinquents whose delinquent acts are unknown to the police and courts?

This study shall also be concerned with status differences in extent of hidden delinquency and in differential apprehension, arrest and official or unofficial court handling of delinquency. Traditionally, our system of justice operates to attach greater stigma to the more serious offenses. The basic philosophy of the juvenile court, on the other hand, is to ignore the seriousness of the offense in all but the most extreme cases and the decision to use official or unofficial court proceedings is supposed to be based upon the needs of the youth himself.[17] Several avenues for investigation are: (1) is the court decision to use official or unofficial proceeding in reality closely related to seriousness of the offense which brings the juvenile to the attention of the court? (2) is this decision as to type of proceeding realistic if one considers the relationship between the most serious act known to the court and the frequency and seriousness of hidden delinquency acts? (3) is this decision more realistic for high status boys than for low status boys? Unfortunately, it is possible that any relationships between hidden delinquency, socioeconomic status and official versus unofficial court proceedings which this study may uncover may be unique to the one court jurisdiction in the area of this study.

The foregoing discussion has outlined the major areas of investigation in this study. There are of course, many problems and lesser hypotheses which are implicit in the major avenues of investigation as they are conceived here. These involve exploration of age, sex, race, status, and school context differences in values and norms pertaining to self conduct and societal demands. These variables which define position in the structure of our social system are studies with respect to indicators of educational aspiration and performance and of evasion or direct rejection of school, parent or police authority. These problems which are implicit in the general focus of this study will be made explicit as they occur during the course of this report. Some of them are inherent in the study design which is described in the following chapter.

17/ Gustav L. Schramm, "Philosophy of the Juvenile Court" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 261 (January, 1949) pp. 101-108.

Chapter II

The Design of the Study

Adolescence in modern society, it is said, tends to be an age of nonconformity, a time in which the norms and values of the peer group often supplant or conflict with those of the adult authorities in the Great Society. This conflict it is argued is most apparent in the fact that adolescent behavior deviates from the norms of school achievement, the legal norms of school attendance, and the norms concerning the use of property and of violence toward persons and property. All of these assertions however are made in a context where little is known about how a general population of adolescents value our social norms and institutions and how they behave in relation to them. A major object of this study therefore has been to close the gap between what is asserted and what is known about adolescent value orientations and behavior in American Society. This is done by providing a description of certain values and behaviors for a population of adolescents residing in the Nashville, Tennessee Standard Metropolitan Area. The study tries to say something about how adolescents view law and authority in the community, the kind of success goals they see for themselves and others in American Society and the use of legitimate and illegitimate means to obtain them, and how they view the learning and authority situation in the family, peer group, school and general community, and the value they place upon conformity in these situations. Finally some description of their conforming and deviant modes of behavior is made in terms of their own self-ratings of behavior, the ratings of their teachers, and their actual behavior as recorded in the files of community organizations.

The school is a major institution that controls much of the adolescent's time and assumes considerable responsibility for developing conformity not only with the norms of scholastic achievement but a much wider range of social behavior as well. The modern American school assumes functions of imparting knowledge and skills to achieve in accordance with the norms not only of the larger society but of developing the generally conforming person as well. School personnel are faced with the fact that students often reject some of these norms or fail to achieve with respect to them. These acts of rejection, or failure, limit the effectiveness of adult authorities in the school in their efforts to secure conformity in other normative situations. This research project therefore also explores a number of hypotheses with respect to adolescent conformity with (or deviation from) school norms. The project has several major objectives: (1) to describe some relevant value-attitudes of the adolescent toward school norms; (2) to analyze the factors which are related to aspiration, achievement and performance to conforming or deviant behavior in the social context of the school; (3) to account for non-conforming or deviant behavior of adolescents in the schools and the relation of this to their behavior in the larger community.

Some view the most pressing problem of adolescence to be that of delinquency, delinquency in the sense of a violation of the legal norms of the community. There has been much research on the problem of delinquency, but again it was our feeling that too often this research rests in general assumptions about what conforming adolescents are like in their value orientations and behavior. We were concerned too, as many in the field of delinquency research field have been, about the extent of delinquency in the population and changes in the form of delinquency over time. Unfortunately the design of a single study cannot provide satisfactory answers to all of these questions. Yet we tried to utilize a cross-sectional research design in such a way as to shed some further light on these questions. Thus we try to compare official delinquents with conforming persons of similar backgrounds, we attempt to compare "official" delinquents with those who have managed to "hide" their delinquency from official representatives of the community, and we try to describe what we perceive to be a more instrumentally oriented delinquent subculture emerging at least in our metropolitan area.

A. Hypotheses

Some of these more generally phrased objectives of the study now can be stated in a more formal way as hypotheses. It should be emphasized that the hypotheses given below did not emerge from the study but were a specific aspect of the research design. The study was designed to test these hypotheses in operational form.

Hypothesis 1: Normative conformers and deviators of comparable social position do not differ in the degree to which they accept the major success goals and means of the Great Society, but deviators are more likely to utilise socially unapproved means to reach these ends and to justify the use of illegitimate means as legitimate.

1. Delinquents are more likely than conformers of comparable social position to legitimise stealing as a means to socially approved ends.
2. All types of normative deviates are more likely than conformers to legitimise stealing as a means to socially approved ends.
3. Delinquents are more likely than conformers to hold misanthropic attitudes toward the legitimate sanctioning system.

Hypothesis 2: The higher the social position in American Society the more likely one is to accept the school as a normative and controlling institution over behavior, assuming a given level of minority-dominant group social position.

1. Boys and girls of lower social status in the occupational system of stratification are more likely to hold attitudes which reject the school as an institution controlling their behavior, particularly by hostility toward school authorities and school property, by rejecting education as a means toward ends, and by challenging the legitimacy of authority held by school officials.
2. Lower status boys and girls are more likely than higher status ones to place peer authority above school authority.

Corollary Hypothesis: Negroes and girls as members of minority social positions are more likely to hold favorable attitudes toward the school as an institution controlling their behavior than are members of the comparable dominant group at the same general social position.

Hypothesis 3: Where opportunities for the achievement of status are class linked, status discontent in the lowest status group will be greater in the status universe where the social distance between status groups (the span of the structure) is greatest and where the distribution of the status groups (shape of the structure) is skewed toward the upper status groups.

The American school can be considered a status universe where the opportunities for achievement are class linked. Teachers are representatives of the middle class way of life and transmit largely middle class value systems. It follows from the general hypothesis then that:

> "The lower class should show the greatest degree of status discontent in a school which cross cuts the status structure and least in the homogeneous lower class school."

Where the opportunities for the achievement of status are class linked, it is expected that many lower class children will evidence discontent by rejecting the values related to upward mobility in the society. Lower class children therefore are more likely to:

1. Accept the ethic of reciprocity over that of individual responsibility
2. Reject an achievement orientation and the acquisition of performance skills related to achievement

and less likely to:

3. Use leisure time toward achievement goals
4. Postpone gratification
5. Control aggression by inhibiting the expression of physical aggression
6. Respect institutional forms of property, particularly private and public property related to achievement goals.

A corollary hypothesis is:

> "All other things being equal, more acts of deviant behavior are generated in schools which cross cut the status structure than in schools which are homogeneous with respect to the status structure."

According to this corollary hypothesis, if Cohen's hypothesis about the delinquent subculture is correct,1/ then we would expect to find more delinquents who participate in a subculture in a school which cross cuts

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1/ Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, Chapter 5.

the status structure than one which is homogeneous in respect to it. Specifically one might expect that:

> "Lower status boys are more likely to choose a delinquent solution to their status problem when they are in a schools with a large status span than when they are enrolled in a school that is of homogeneous lower status composition."

The hypothesis in this form is a logical deduction from the Cohen hypothesis about the delinquent subculture and merits special testing even though certain related facts may not directly support the inference.

A second corollary hypothesis is:

> "For any school, regardless of the status level, those students who are rejected in the status achievement system are most likely to choose a deviant solution to their problem."

Hypothesis 4: The lower class boy who rejects upward mobility in a context of status achievement is more likely to seek a subcultural delinquent solution to his status generated problem than is the lower class boy who accepts upward mobility.

Lower status boys in general are more likely to endorse the values of the delinquent subculture than are middle class boys, but the lower status boys who reject upward mobility are most likely to endorse these values among all lower status boys. The values of the delinquent subculture include an emphasis on:

1. Non-utilitarian activity
2. Malicious destruction of property
3. Negativistic relations with non-peer members
4. Short-run hedonism in the pursuit of goals
5. Group autonomy over behavior
6. Versatility of conduct in delinquent behavior.

Hypothesis 5: The career oriented delinquent will show less internalization of conventional norms and low guilt in respect to their violation than other types of delinquents and conformers. Hyper-conformers will show the greatest amount of guilt.

Hypothesis 6: Adolescent deviators are more likely than conformers to come from families where the means of control are presumed to lead to low internalization of the norms operating in the control situation.

1. Adolescent deviators are more likely to come from families where punishment rather than love withdrawal and/or rational manipulation of the environment are the means of control.

2. Adolescent deviators are more likely to come from families where the father rather than the mother is perceived in the role of principal disciplinarian.

Hypothesis 7: Conformers to social norms show greater ego and super-ego strength and higher acceptance of the control of social institutions and organizations than do persons who deviate from the norms of the Great Society.

Conformers may be separated into two groups--the Hyper-conformers and the Conventional Conformers. Hyperconformers are more likely to show the effects of a punitive conscience and comparatively lower ego strength than Conventional Conformers.

Conformers generally will show a higher degree of acceptance of authority from family, school, clerical, police and judicial authority figures than will deviates. They also are less likely to show hostility toward the exercise of such authority. Their behavior will be more likely to take account of the demands of adult figures who serve as models of conformity and to endorse these demands as representing the requests of "legitimate" authority.

In addition to these hypotheses, this study includes a large number of specific hypotheses relating to conforming and deviating behavior. These hypotheses are stated for testing as zero order relationships and, in the course of multivariate analysis, certain of these relationships are attenuated or specified for conditions under which they hold.

1. Sex Differences

Girls are more likely than boys to:

a) accept the school as a controlling institution
b) accept the ends of education
c) endorse the norms and sanctions of conventional society
d) accept adult authority as controlling in the community
e) reject the values of the delinquent subculture
f) turn aggression inward to the self
g) reject illegitimate success means
h) be more accepting of ecclesiastical and supernatural authority
i) identify with the expectations of the mother.

2. School Context Differences

a) Schools which cross cut the class structure are more likely to maximize status discontent.

b) Lower status boys and girls in homogeneous lower status schools are more likely to use and endorse the illegitimate means to success to achieve legitimate success goals than are lower status boys and girls in heterogeneous status schools.

c) The emphasis on scholastic achievement varies with the prevailing socio-economic level in the school; schools with a highly skewed status structure will place less emphasis on scholastic achievement.

d) Subjects in schools characterized by low socio-economic status level will be more accepting of authoritarian leadership than subjects in middle class schools.

e) Subjects in schools which are homogeneous with respect to status structure are more likely to express feelings of alienation and of relative deprivation.

3. Sibling Position and Delinquent Deviation

a) Oldest males are more likely to be delinquent than youngest males.
b) The male for whom the father is the principal disciplinarian is more likely to be delinquent than the male for whom the mother is the principal disciplinarian.

4. Official vs. Unofficial Delinquency

Most comparisons of unreported with reported delinquent acts have led to the belief that a much larger proportion of the population engages in delinquent acts than official statistics generally show. This study hypothesizes:

> "More of the unreported than of the reported acts are acts for which there is either low public moral indignation when they are committed (e.g., traffic offenses, occasional truancy, defiance of parental authority) or the incidence of arrest in a population of official delinquents is low anyway (e.g., sex offenses, violation of blue laws, consumption of alchoholic beverages, or certain petty offenses and acts of destruction of property)."

It also is hypothesized:

> "The incidence of all acts, and particularly of repeated acts, is considerably greater among official delinquents than among those who have either unofficial records or whose delinquent acts are unknown to the police and courts."

It often is emphasized that official delinquents are selected from the general population in terms of such criteria as sex, class status, marital status of parents and area of residence. While such selectivity can be shown, the relationship of delinquency with these criteria should persist even when comparisons are made for delinquents with an unofficial record or for those who are not known to the police and the courts.

B. The Universe and Sampling From It

The Universe

The Nashville, Tennessee, Standard Metropolitan Area (Davidson County) was selected as the research site. It was mainly selected as the site because of accessibility and the fact that the two main public school systems--the Nashville City and Davidson County Schools agreed to participate in the study. The area was regarded as sufficiently metropolitan to encounter most kinds of conforming and deviant behaviors among adolescents. In retrospect this appears to be the case, although some forms of deviant behavior are statistically infrequent among adolescents. These include drug addiction and its use, and the systematic territorial organization of gangs, particularly for gang warfare.

The Nashville Standard Metropolitan Area numbered 321,758 inhabitants in 88,705 households in 1950 according to the 1950 U.S. Census of Population.[1] The Davidson County Planning Commission estimated there were 380,000 inhabitants in 1957. Eighty percent of the population in 1950 was classified as white.

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[1] The source of this and the census figures which follow is: 1950 U.S. Census of Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, tables 86 and 92.

The median school years completed was 9.4 years and the median family income in 1949 was $2,887[2]. Only 54.4 percent of the S.M.A. inhabitants resided in Nashville City in 1950. A larger proportion (31.4 per cent) of the Nashville City than of the S.M.A. inhabitants (20.0 per cent) was nonwhite. Only a very small proportion of S.M.A. inhabitants (2.05 per cent) were either farm managers or laborers in 1950 so that the S.M.A. population is largely made up of urban and rural-nonfarm inhabitants.

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[2] Ibid., Table 90.

The hypothesis of the study focus on adolescent behavior so that ideally our study design should include all adolescents in the universe or a representative sample of them. Unfortunately a design which met this ideal was too costly to consider for the study, so the initial design defined the adolescent population in terms of an age-school grade criterion. The universe was defined as all boys and girls enrolled in grades 7 through 12 in the public, private and parochial schools of Davidson County, Tennessee, regardless of their place of residence.

Under Tennessee law a pupil is required to attend school until the seventeenth birthday. The figures below show that this legal requirement results in a substantial fall in enrollment in Nashville City Schools after age 16.[3]

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[3] Ibid., Table 179.

Per Cent Enrolled in Nashville City Schools by Age (years)

12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
96.7	97.4	95.5	90.2	84.3	64.0	48.4	39.8	34.8

Comparable Census data are not available for Davidson County School pupils, but survival percentages of white and Negro pupils enrolled in Grades 9 through 12 for the city and county public school systems show a white Grade 12 survival rate of approximately 60 per cent in 1954. There are somewhat higher survival rates for white Davidson County than white Nashville City school pupils since 1954, while the survival rates for Negroes are higher for the Nashville City Negro pupils. The differences are not large in any case, however, and average perhaps no more than four or five per cent in this period.[4]

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[4] These figures are taken from unpublished records of the two school systems.

This definition of the universe shows that up to age 15 approximately 95 per cent of all adolescent boys and girls in the S.M.A. would be selected for study if all were obtained. This per cent declines in the 15th and 16th years so that by age 17 only roughly two-thirds of all boys and girls would be selected. The drop-out rate for male Negroes is the highest for race-sex groups while that of white females is lowest. Our universe therefore contains proportionately more of the expected numbers of white females and fewer of the male Negroes.

The limitation of the universe to the population enrolled in school poses problems of how representative our population is of all adolescents in our area? Since there is no known criterion against which the representativeness of the population can be assessed, we shall indirectly assess, and in some cases simply suggest, sources of bias. Under age 15, the loss is small since 95 per cent of the population is enrolled in school. Most of the loss in this age group is of two major types: boys and girls too ill to enroll in school, and those mentally defective who are not enrolled and not institutionalized due to the limited institutional facilities available to the population. It is known, too, that a small number of boys and girls defined as school behavior problem cases by school officials were excluded by official action of the respective boards of education. Finally, some truants and delinquents are not enrolled in school because they have managed to successfully elude the attendance and juvenile court officers.

Beyond age 15, the loss rises to one-third of all boys and girls in the higher age groups. We again know that some of this loss consists of the ill and mentally defective or of cases excluded from a school system by official action. The bulk of this population however consists of legal dropouts from school. A portion of this study is devoted to studying the selective nature of leaving school. The results of this investigation are reported in a succeeding chapter. Suffice it to say at this point that the loss is selective with respect to race (Negroes), age (greatest in the 12th grade), sex (males), socio-economic status level (low), I.Q. (low I.Q.) and conforming-deviant behavior classification (delinquents, truants, school behavior cases).

The cooperation of two public school systems was obtained so that all boys and girls in grades 7 through 12 in Nashville City and Davidson County are included in the universe. The cooperation of the boys private school and of the Roman Catholic parochial boys school, Grades 9 through 12, also was obtained. The school calendar and related scheduling problems prohibited the inclusion of several school populations in Davidson County, however, the Roman Catholic parochial school girls in grades 7 through 12, the Roman Catholic parochial school boys in grades 7 and 8, The Peabody College for Teachers Demonstration School pupils in grades 7 through 12, the David Lipscomb, Church-of-Christ, parochial school with grades 7 through 12 and Harpeth Hall, a private school for girls, with grades 9 through 12. The boys resident in the Tennessee Preparatory School--a residential institution for dependent and neglected children--also were excluded from the population. While no exact estimate of the total number of pupils enrolled in these schools is possible, it is estimated that they provide only about 7 per cent of the in-school population in Nashville and Davidson County. Roughly 93 per cent of all in-school boys and girls in the universe of school enrolled therefore are included in the study.[5]

There are no reliable estimates for the 1957 school year of the numbers of boys and girls in the age groups from which grades 7 through 12 pupils are selected. 1957 is the year for which the universe was defined. No precise estimate of a net loss of pupils due to failure to enroll, dropping out of school and the elimination of schools from the universe, therefore, is possible. The net loss for boys and girls beyond age 12 who have not completed 12 years of schooling is crudely estimated in the range of 10 to 15 per cent. The bias of underrepresentation in our population is proportionately greater for public school boys than girls, Negroes than whites, private and parochial school girls than boys, private and parochial school than public school boys and girls, Roman Catholic than Protestant pupils.

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[5] Estimates are based on school enrollment figures for these schools.

The design of the research required that all pupils in the universe take the adolescent attitude and opinion questionnaire. The procedure of administration agreed to by the respective school administrators was a mass administration of the questionnaire in each school on a particular day at a designated hour. This standardized administrative procedure meant that no questionnaire information is available for pupils absent on the particular day the questionnaire was given, except that male absentees who subsequently were selected for interview were given the questionnaire at a later date. We are unable to offer a precise estimate of the loss from our universe due to absence from school at the time the questionnaire was given since the schools do not have up-to-date information on pupil transfers and dropout. An estimate of the loss due to absence was obtained however by asking each teacher to list each student by name who was on the class list on the day the questionnaire was given, to check all absentees. These lists provide a fairly reliable estimate of total enrollment and absentees except that teacher information on dropout and transfer cases also is not up-to-date. Using the information on total enrollment and absentees provided by each teacher, the absence rate for each school and for the total universe was calculated. The absence rate for schools ranged from less than two per cent in some schools to seven per cent in a few. The average rate for schools was five per cent.

The actual number of questionnaires completed in whole or part is:

Total Cases = 21,679

Per Cent by Type of School	
City Public	41.6
County Public	56.3
Boys Parochial	1.1
Boys Private	1.0
Total	100.0

Per Cent by Race and Sex	
White males	42.5
White females	41.2
White, sex unknown	0.5
Negro males	7.2
Negro females	8.1
Negro, sex unknown	0.5
Total	100.0

There undoubtedly is a selective bias operating in absence from school. Data from the cumulative records of absentees and on truants permit us to assess the selective nature of this bias. In general terms, we know that the absentees were more likely to be boys than girls, older than younger, lower than upper occupational status, and deviant (e.g., truant and delinquent) than conforming pupils.

The combined effect of limiting our population to pupils enrolled in school and to those in attendance on the day the questionnaire was given (except for our sample of white male delinquents) results in a loss of 15 to 20 per cent of all boys and girls in the 12 to 18 year age group. This imposes certain limitations on induction from the data. For purposes of this study we regard the statistical control of age as a means of controlling the selectivity bias in examining relationships, since the loss is considerably less in the 12 to 15 year age group. The primary effect of loss through leaving school and absence when the questionnaire was given is in dealing with problems of incidence and prevalence of conforming and deviant behaviors (the dependent variables) and of the independent variables. It is of considerably less importance for the investigation of relationships among them.

Sampling From the Universe

Some of the hypotheses of the study are tested for only a sample of the universe. Several criteria were imposed for selection of this sample. They were introduced primarily to increase the homogeneity of the sample for analytical purposes. To begin, the sample is restricted to white males so that the several effects of race and sex are not investigated. Second the sample is drawn from the urbanized area of the Standard Metropolitan Area so that schools with rural nonfarm and rural-farm populations are essentially excluded from the analysis. Finally, only boys between the ages of 12 and 17 are included in the population sampled. Certain of the hypotheses pertained to leaving school before graduation. The upper age limit therefore was imposed to preclude the loss of boys who might legally quit school at age 17.

A two per cent simple random sample was selected from the in-school population of white males, age 12 to 16 resident in the urbanized area of Davidson County, Tennessee. This sample is used primarily to estimate population parameters for schedule and interview data. The small size of the sample precludes any analysis of data where detailed cross-classification is employed by type of conforming and deviant behavior.

Conforming and deviant behavior categories do not form a rectangular distribution for our population. A simple random sample therefore will provide too few cases of deviant types of boys unless the sample is very large. We could not afford to interview a large random sample of cases and therefore chose to stratify the population into conforming-deviant subgroups. Ideally, the population should be stratified into the categories of conforming-deviant behavior used in our analysis of data. The definition of these categories in this study unfortunately depended in part upon the information obtained in the schedule and the interview. This fact precluded the use of these strata in selecting the sample. An alternative criterion of conforming-deviant behavior therefore had to be selected as a basis for stratifying the population. We chose as this criterion a teacher rating of conforming-deviant behavior for each pupil. This criterion is known to bear a moderate correlation with our analytical criteria of conforming-deviant behavior.

The conforming deviant behavior rating for each pupil was obtained at the time the questionnaire was administered in each school. At that time, teachers were asked to place each student assigned to their homeroom in one or more of the following classes of conforming-deviant behavior.[6]

(1) Conforming Student: This student conforms to ideals of a person who lives up to the rules of his school and those of a conforming person in the community and larger society. This student is not expected to get into trouble and, in fact, conforms to a model of how 'good people' behave in our society. This isn't necessarily an 'A' student since a 'D' grade student may be doing his 'best' academically and both may be conforming persons in society. In brief, we are interested in the social conformist who stands for law and order and the better ideals in our community, regardless of his school achievement level.

(2) Poorly Motivated Student: This student is a low performer in relation to your expectations of him or her as a student. He (or she) is not doing the kind of school work that you believe he is capable of doing. The emphasis in this characteristic is on school motivation. This student is not motivated toward school success.

(3) Behavior Problem in School: This student is more or less a trouble-maker to the school--principal, teachers, and to other students. The student doesn't seem to want to conform to what is expected in school and actually 'goes out of his (or her) way' to create trouble, unpleasantness, etc. for others. This student usually has a reputation as a 'trouble-maker' in school.

(4) Boy or Girl Who You Expect Will Probably Get in Trouble in the Community: Most of us probably have had boys and girls in our classes who we expect will later on get into trouble with the law, if they have not already done so. We would like you to make 'guesses' on those who you think may fall in this category. In some cases you may already know that they have gotten into trouble. You should include these cases here, but indicate you know this to be true by a circle around your check mark.

Teachers were encouraged to rate a student in more than one of these four categories. As the following per cent distribution shows, 84.2 per cent of the white boys were placed in but one of the four categories:

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[6] Appendix I contains a copy of LETTER TO TEACHERS. This letter includes a section instructing the teacher on how to rate the pupils in the four-fold conforming-deviant behavior classification system used here.

1. Conformer	66.5
2. Poorly Motivated	13.9
3. School Behavior Problem	3.3
4. Troublemaker	0.5
Pure Types	(84.2)
5. Poorly Motivated Conformer	6.2
6. Poorly Motivated School Behavior Problem	3.9
7. Poorly Motivated Troublemaker	1.3
8. School Behavior Problem and Troublemaker	1.5
9. Poorly Motivated School Behavior Problem and Troublemaker	2.9

When boys were classified in more than one category, the ratings made by teachers recognized the implicit rank order among the three deviant modes of behavior, with Poorly Motivated behavior the least deviant and Troublemaker the most deviant category. Poorly Motivated therefore occurs most frequently in combination with the other two deviant types, School Behavior Problem the next most frequent and Troublemaker the least frequent.

Subjects classified in more than one category were assigned to only one of the four major categories of conforming-deviant behavior. If a subject was rated as a Troublemaker in combination with another category, he was classified as a Troublemaker. If a subject was not classified as a Troublemaker, he was classified as a School Behavior Problem if that category formed part of his multiple classification. Boys who were neither Troublemakers nor School Behavior Problems were classified as Poorly Motivated unless their only rating was that of Conformer. With these assignments to one of the four main categories, 66.5 per cent were classified as Conformers, 20.1 per cent as Poorly Motivated, 7.2 per cent as School Behavior Problem boys and 6.2 per cent as Troublemakers. We failed to obtain ratings for 7.2 per cent of all boys age 10 to 16.

There were 151 boys in the simple random sample. They are distributed in the conforming-deviant subgroups of teachers ratings as follows:

Subgroup	Number	Per Cent
Conformers	100	66.3
Poorly Motivated	31	20.5
School Behavior Problems . . .	10	6.6
Troublemakers.	10	6.6
Total.	151	100.0

Supplementing the Sample

It is readily seen above that there are too few cases in the deviant subgroups for detailed cross-classification of the data. This is largely a function of the fact that conformers comprise two-thirds of all boys, age 12 to 16. It therefore was decided to stratify the population and sample disproportionately from the deviant subgroups. Matched samples of a conformer with each of the deviant subtypes was chosen as one aspect of the overall design. In keeping with this objective, we chose about three times as many conforming as deviant boys, making the number of deviant boys in each class roughly equal. One additional basis of stratification was imposed in selecting these cases. We were interested in studying types of delinquents. It was known that certain types of delinquents are disproportionately concentrated in the central city. Our Troublemaker classification did not differentiate among these types, however. To facilitate selecting a sufficiently large number of cases in each of these subtypes, we chose to select twice as many cases from our city school population. The distribution below shows the number of cases chosen within each city and county and conforming-deviant stratum as well as the per cent each is of the stratum population.

Teacher Rating	Number of Random Cases within each Stratum		Random Cases as a Per Cent of Stratum Population	
	City	County	City	County
Conformers	72	68	4.1	1.9
Poorly Motivated . .	28	23	4.4	2.2
School Behavior Problem	28	13	8.9	4.6
Troublemakers. . . .	25	18	9.8	7.0

For each random case within each stratum, the two closest friends also were selected for interview. These interview cases of sociometric choices are distributed as follows:

	Number of Sociometric Choices Within Each Stratum		Sociometric Choices as a Per Cent of Stratum Population	
	City	County	City	County
Conformers	125	130	7.1	3.5
Poorly Motivated . .	47	46	7.4	4.5
School Behavior Problem	23	13	7.3	4.6
Troublemakers. . . .	16	12	6.3	4.7

Since the proportion of sociometric cases in each conforming-deviant group is a relatively small proportion of the total stratum population, the number of sociometric cases is less than expected, assuming there is no overlapping of choices among the randomly chosen cases and the sociometric choices. Actually, as we shall show later, clique structures emerge even for our randomly chosen population and their sociometric choices so that the number of persons actually interviewed is less than that expected. Two other reasons also explain why the number of sociometric choices actually interviewed is less than that expected. One of these was our decision not to interview sociometric choices who left the metropolitan area, e.g., by enlisting in a branch of the armed services. The other was that we restricted our interviews to boys in school, including the state training school for delinquent boys. We therefore did not obtain interviews with adults who were chosen as friends or with boys who left school, but were residing in the metropolitan area. These latter reasons are particularly operative in respect to the School Behavior Problem and Troublemaker choices.

At certain points in our investigation we are not so much interested in estimating parameters as we are in exploring relationships. At these points we are less concerned with the "representativeness" of our sample than we are in examining the direction of relationships (and not their magnitude.) A problem which one faces at this point is that the size of particular types of conforming and deviant subgroups will be relatively small in the population chosen at random, even given our stratification criteria above, so that we are interested in increasing the number of cases in these subgroups. In this study, we were especially interested in securing large numbers of boys who were officially and unofficially classified as delinquent by the Juvenile Court and in securing substantial numbers of middle class delinquents and hyperconformers. We chose therefore to increase the number of cases in each of these groups by other means of selection.

Our criteria for selecting juvenile court cases was to interview every in-school boy who was referred to the Davidson County Juvenile Court during the period December 1, 1957 and February 28, 1958, a four month period. This included both unofficial and official juvenile court cases. In addition, we interviewed every in-school boy who had an official record of delinquency during the 1954-58 period. By these means we secured 141 additional cases with a juvenile court record (we already had court cases among the original random sample group and their sociometric choices). The middle class delinquency group was increased by interviewing 13 middle class boys rated as Troublemakers in the upper middle and upper class schools. We selected our middle class hyperconformers by asking teachers and principals at some schools to name "model boys". Not all of these 25 boys fit our definition of hyperconformers, but it was a selection means used to increase the number of boys in this category.

The interview population from all these sources of selection comprises 1,027 boys, of whom roughly 47 per cent are Conformers, 22 per cent Poorly Motivated, 12 per cent School Behavior Problems and 19 per cent Troublemakers.

Together they comprise 12.5 per cent of the white males in school in the Nashville Urbanized Area. More of the city than of the county population, and of the deviant than the conforming, strata are included among the 1,027 cases as the following distribution shows:

	Total Cases as a Per Cent of Stratum Population		
	City	County	Total
Conforming	14.1	6.5	8.9
Poorly Motivated	17.8	10.7	13.4
School Behavior Problem.	26.9	14.6	21.1
Troublemakers.	48.2	26.3	37.2
Total.	19.2	8.7	12.5

C. Data Collection and Measurement

The Questionnaire

The major instruments used to gather the data for this study are based on questionnaire and interview techniques. All instruments used to gather the data were constructed especially for this study, although some items and questions are based on items from standardized tests or scales.

The questionnaire was developed as a means of gathering data for the universe of adolescents. The main purposes of this questionnaire were: (1) to obtain a description of the value-attitudes and normative orientations of adolescents in selected value areas; (2) to assess the character of their interpersonal relationships with peers and adult authority figures; (3) to obtain self-ratings of conforming and deviant behavior, testing certain hypotheses predicting conforming and nonconforming behavior with the self-ratings as the dependent variable. Arrangements were made to match each subject's questionnaire with certain agency information on his deviant acts of truancy, withdrawl from school, and delinquency, and with school record information on scholastic performance and ability. Information on the status, role performance and participation of subjects was obtained in a separate section of the questionnaire.

Two versions of the questionnaire were developed for the study, one for the city and another for the county schools administration. These questionnaires are found in Appendix A. The majority of the items are common to the two questionnaires but each contains items absent from the other. This procedure sacrifices comparability among all items since there are significant differences between the two populations. The county population, for example, has proportionately fewer Negroes and low occupational status subjects. It also contains rural-nonfarm and rural-farm subjects from outlying areas of the S.M.A., a class of subjects which is absent from the city population. The populations differ in other known ways as well so that inferences from either the city or the county segment of the population are not directly comparable with those from the total population. The two versions of the questionnaire were made possible by the fact that there was a six month time interval between the administration of the city and county questionnaires. We therefore were able to substitute new items in the county questionnaire after a preliminary analysis of the results from the city questionnaire.

The city questionnaire was administered during the last week of April, 1957 while the county administration occurred during the months of October and November of 1957. The procedure followed in almost all schools was to administer the questionnaire during a single scheduled class hour of the day, or in a lengthened home room period of about fifty minutes. The time limitation of 50 minutes meant that some students were unable to complete the questionnaire. Slightly over one per cent of the questionnaires were incomplete in the sense that we were unable to obtain any items of social background information for them (the last two pages of the questionnaire). We know that I.Q. and reading ability were selective factors operating on the failure to complete the questionnaire. For most special education classes, a special procedure was followed however so that competed questionnaires are obtained for most subjects in these classes. In special education classes, the teacher either read the questionnaire and the student checked the response category which applied, or the teacher administered it on a more or less individual basis. The procedure for special education students therefore is not the standardized procedure used for other classrooms.

The questionnaire was administered under conditions guaranteeing the respondent anonymity from school authorities. No name or number therefore was placed on the questionnaire. To collate information from the several sources--questionnaire, schedule, interview, official agencies and cumulative record--it was necessary to identify each repondent. This was easily accomplished in most cases by matching cumulative record information on date of birth with age, month, and date of birth from the questionnaire. The relative ease with which matching was accomplished is due to the fact that the questionnaires were administered by classroom. Since we had a teacher's list of students taking the questionnaire for each classroom, in most cases it was a matter of matching the questionnaires for only 20 to 40 students. Less than one half of one per cent of all questionnaires were unmatched through this procedure.

Pre-test of the Questionnaire. The questionnaire was pretested and revised several times. These are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The first version of the questionnaire was made up of selected attitude items which were designed to show response differences by sex, socio-economic level and deviant-conforming behavior. Forty Vanderbilt University students served as the test population for this questionnaire. These students can be described generally as of upper socio-economic status and conforming in their overt behavior. On the basis of this pretest all items were eliminated which failed to show the expected sex differences. All items which produced a greater than expected proportion of either middle class or of deviant behavior responses were eliminated after this pretest. Finally, a few items were eliminated because they tended to produce an unusual amount of intragroup communication in the test setting. These were the usual neurotic inventory items about ensuresis and frequency of going to the toilet.

A second pretest then was undertaken in two settings. One hundred and twelve boys at the Tennessee State Vocational Training School for Boys (institutionalized delinquents) served as a known deviant subgroup for pupposes of item analysis. Students at the main public high school in Gadsden, Alabama served as an urban public school test population. There were 805 respondents in this subgroup. The purpose of this pretest was twofold: to test five Guttman-type scales for their scalability and to again test item discrimination between conforming and deviant subgroups of the population. Only one of the scales met the criteria of scalability on this pretest and two others showed that, with revision, they might meet all the criteria of scalability. Some items were eliminated, either because the predicted response pattern for deviant and conforming groups did not appear, or was very small.

A third pretest then was undertaken in a small town high school with a substantial proportion of rural farm and rural-nonfarm students. There were 225 respondents in this pretest population. This pretest served primarily to test the scalability of the scales revised from the earlier pretest. On the basis of this pretest, three of the scales met the criteria of scalability, given some modification in wording to obtain the desired marginal frequencies. Two of the scales still failed to yield even the predicted marginal frequencies, so they were rejected for inclusion in the final battery and two new scales devised. The small town pretest also was used to eliminate and revise items which appeared to have a rural-farm or nonfarm bias.

Reliability of Questionnaire Response. Questionnaires are generally assumed to involve some unreliability in response to questionnaire items in the sense that some random or variable errors affect the results even when there is high validity to the measure. The validity of the questionnaire items in this study remains essentially undemonstrated so that we cannot presume a sufficiently high degree of validity to obviate the necessity of exploring its reliability.

For reasons of both economy and measurement, it was not possible to design the study to explore the degree of unreliability in response to questionnaire items. The 805 questionnaires of the Gadsden, Alabama pretest were used as a basis for assessing the reliability of response to four questionnaire items. The technique for determining the reliability of a response was to assess the stability of the response in repeated trials. Four items in the Gadsden questionnaire therefore were given twice. The items were spaced so as to increase the likelihood that responses to the items are independent of one another. This assumption of independence of response to items may appear to be somewhat tenuous since the items appear in the same questionnaire allowing either actual cross checking or memory checks to operate in the test situation. A lack of independence of course would lead to an overestimation of the stability in response.

There are several reasons why we do not believe that the stability in response is substantially affected by the inclusion of the same items in the same questionnaire. The following items were repeated in the questionnaire, with responses checked on a six point continuum of strongly agree,

agree;agree-a-little;disagree-a-little;disagree;strongly disagree:

1). (Question 3 and Question 57) Parents have a right to expect young people to tell them when they go out at night.

2). (Question 13 and Question 54) Parents should not keep kids at home after supper on school nights.

3). (Question 31 and Question 75) Parents have no right to expect young people to tell them when they go out atnight.

4). (Question 65 and Question 80) Parents should not let kids run around together after supper on school nights.

Examining the spacing of the items it can be seen that some 40 questionnaire items separate the first three pairs of items and 15 items separate the last pair. In point of fact, as we see below, the percentage of reliable responses for a dichotomous classification on content (agree-disagree) is less for the pair separated by 15 items than for two of the pairs separated by 40 items, and it differs as much as 23 per cent for two of the pairs separated by 40 items.

First Pair	Second Pair	Third Pair	Fourth Pair
91	68	85	79

We have reason to suspect that actual cross checking was minimized by the fact that the questionnaire was long and there was an expectation that the questionnaire be completed within the allotted time. Of course this would not rule out memory checks. A second major reason for assuming that the stability of response is not markedly affected by repeating items in the same questionnaire is the fact that the percentage agreement for the dichotomous classification on the four repeated items varies from 68 per cent to 91 per cent. Since the response to some items is more unreliable than that to other items, cross checking should not be operating within this range of difference. Additional evidence that cross checking did not operate to produce stability in response is found in an examination of the stability of responses th the six intensity-content points of the continuum. The stability of response to item 57 by comparing responses for items 57 and 3 is presented below:

Question 3	Question 57							
	SA	A	AL	DL	D	SD	Total	Per Cent
SD	16	8	16	--	30	30	13	1.6
D	22	22	11	11	33	--	9	1.1
DL	6	50	19	13	6	6	16	2.0
AL	10	41	33	7	5	5	111	13.8
A	36	52	7	2	2	1	353	43.8
SA	80	17	*	*	*	2	303	37.7
Total	384	290	70	20	20	21	805	-----
Per Cent	47.7	36.0	8.7	2.5	2.5	2.6	---	100.0

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

Here it can be seen that the stability of response to the intensity-content points of the continuum is much less than that of response to content or intensity alone. If either memory or actual cross-checking were operating to a substantial degree it would not seem reasonable to expect as high a proportion of instability in response. Nonetheless the hypothesis that the observed stability in response is solely a function of the lack of independence in the test conditions is not rejected by the evidence offered.

How reliable are responses to the questionnaire items considering the evidence offered by these four pairs of items? The data do not provide an unambiguous answer to this question.

Examining the information for the Item pair 3 and 57, the item with the highest degree of stability in response, we find 91 per cent agreement so far as the content dimension is concerned. That is, only 9 per cent of the respondents changed the direction of their answer--from agree to disagree, and vice versa. Yet only 58 per cent of the respondents showed perfect reliability in response in the sense that they checked the same intensity-content category (e.g., strongly agree) in both trials. Obviously there is greater stability in response to content than to content and intensity in response.

The reliability of response appears to vary considerably with the form of the content statement, however, particularly the normative form of the statement in the four items under consideration. There is somewhat lower stability of response to items dealing with the right of parents to keep children home after supper on school nights than there is for items dealing with the expectations parents may legitimately hold for their children. The proscriptive forms of the statement (should not) have lower stability of response than do those dealing with the legitimacy of authority or the right to hold an expectation. Given the general permissive orientation of our culture toward norms, and perhaps in particular the adolescent's orientation toward that culture, it seems reasonable to expect that there would be less stability of response for questions phrased in the normatively prescriptive or proscriptive form.

The stability of response for the content dimension also is affected by the normative distribution of the response in the population. The agree-disagree content stability is partly a function of the fact that the item response is heavily weighted toward either the agree or disagree end of the continuum in our four items. If most respondents were essentially toward the middle of the continuum (agree-a-little or disagree-a-little) there might be greater instability of response for the content dimension. It is clear of course from the data that less reliance can be placed on using intensity in relation to content or intensity alone rather than content in measuring responses to the item. For this reason most of our analysis is limited to the content dimension of the attitude or opinion.

Some attempt was made to determine whether the stability of response varied with certain characteristics related to the social background and family orientation of the respondent. On the whole there was very little difference between stability and instability of response by sex, family size, or size of community. Respondents with high stability in response were more likely to come from unbroken homes, they were more likely to perceive their parents as interested in them and to say they would follow their parents rather than their friends wishes when confronted with a choice where there were cross-pressures from parents and peers. These are family factors which would seem to be related to the normative family situations presented in the items.

The Schedule and Interview

A short schedule and an interview were developed for gathering information from the selected group of white male respondents, age 12 to 16. The schedule and interview were administered during the months of December, 1957 to July, 1958 by four male interviewers.7/ The schedule was self administered if the subject chose that form of administration. It was read to subjects when they requested that it be read because of their poor reading ability. There was no instance of failureto complete the schedule or the interview on the part of any of these respondents. All of the sample respondents are conformers in the sense that they conformed to our formal expectations! The schedule took from seven to 31 minutes to complete with an average time of about 12 minutes. Immediately following the completion of the schedule, the interview was undertaken. Interviews lasted from

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7/ Edward L. McDill, Donal E. Muir, Albert Lewis Rhodes, Albert J. Reiss, Jr.

34 to 140 minutes with an average time of about 42 minutes. No subject completed the schedule and interview in less than 45 minutes.

The schedule was designed to secure information supplementing that of the questionnaire. The subject's relationship with parental figures, siblings and peers, and additional information on his leisure time activities, were obtained from the schedule. The interview was designed to secure several types of information: (1) a description of the kind and number of deviant acts in the subject's life history; (2) sociometric information on the subject's three closest friends; (3) subject's perceptions of his school achievement and vocational aspirations and of his parents aspirations in these matters; (4) the nature and quality of affectional relations with parents and peers; (5) sibling competition; (6) information on family structure and status; (7) measures of the ego and super-ego strength of subjects and their ability to control the discharge of hostility; and (8) a description of how the subject spends his leisure time.

Several techniques were used to secure this information. The respondent's actual behavior, the structure of his internal controls, and his actual or perceived relations with others were measured in part by standard interview techniques of interrogation. To stimulate recall of past behavior, questions were asked in terms of situations which could have arisen in the past. The major device used to gather information on how the subject spent his leisure time was a time-budget. Each subject was interviewed on how he had spent his time after classes were dismissed on the previous school day. The budget procedure allocates chronological time from the point classes were dismissed until the subject went to sleep by specific kinds of activity in which he was engaged, with whom he spent the activity, how close these persons were to him, and how many there were in the activity and in the immediate social situation. All activities therefore are assigned a time dimension.

Considerable information was obtained on the individuals history of delinquency; the kinds of delinquent acts in which he engaged, the number of persons who engaged in the act with him, their relation to him, and how frequently he had engaged in these acts. The procedure followed was to mention classes of delinquent acts as a stimulus condition and then to explore this class of acts with the subject. Finally, each subject was asked to subjectively define other kinds of delinquent acts in which he had engaged.

Information on sex activity was obtained for 187 of the 1,027 white male subjects at the close of the interview. The basic interview procedure followed here is that outlined by Alfred Kinsey in Sexual Behavior of the Human Male. Subjects were given little time to think about their answers with questions asked in rapid order, cross-checking of responses for validity, etc. These answers were recorded at the close of the interview.

A five card Thematic Apperception Test was used as one means of measuring the nature and strength of the subject's internal control system. The following cards were selected:

3BM. . .This is a picture of a reclining figure huddled against a couch with his head bowed on his right arm.

8BM. . .This picture is generally described as a boy looking straight out of a picture; a rifle barrel is visible at the side and in the background is a scene of a surgical operation, like a mirage.

11 . . .This is one of the more unstructured situations and shows what is usually described as a road skirting a deep chasm between high cliffs; obscure figures on the road in the distance and a monster protrudes from the cliff.

17BM. . .This is a picture of a naked man clinging to a rope; it is not clear whether he is climbing up or down.

19 . . .This is an unstructured situation; the picture often is described as a snow scene, a Halloween scene or, as Modern Art.

The principal codes established for these cards deal with the control of hostility, the ego strength, super-ego strength or sense of guilt, and McClellan's achievement motive.

Completion of Questionnaire, Interview and Schedule. The schedule and the interview were administered in a personal contact situation consisting of interviewer and respondent. The situation was one insuring privacy of communication, although it occurred within the school setting. No subject selected in either the random sample, as a sociometric choice of a random original, or for supplementing the sample refused to take the schedule or to be interviewed. None of the respondents failed to complete either the schedule or the interview and in fact there are almost no instances of failing to secure a response to every item and interview question since the schedules were checked for completeness before the conclusion of the interview. For every boy who was interviewed our information is complete then in the sense that some response was secured for all items or questions.

The questionnaire was administered in a group setting in each school. A teacher was in charge of the group setting, read a standardized set of instructions for taking the questionnaire and answered questions raised by pupils. As noted above, this meant that in some cases pupils failed to complete the questionnaire, particularly since there was a time interval on completion. If a subject was in the interview group however, we obtained a completed questionnaire for that subject either by personal administration or administration in a group setting presided over by the principal investigator of the study. This means that we obtained questionnaires for all but a small number of subjects in the interview group. This fact needs to be kept in mind in assessing the results of Table II-1 below since it accounts for a somewhat higher proportion of questionnaire completion for males than would otherwise be the case, and particularly for male delinquents.

There were 3.7 per cent of all subjects who failed to complete the questionnaire in the sense of failing to complete at least one-half page of the sixteen page questionnaire. As Table II-1 shows, there was considerable variation in rate of completion by race, sex, age and occupational status of subjects. Whites, girls, older subjects, and high occupational status subjects were most likely to complete the questionnaire. White, older girls of high occupational status were most likely to complete the questionnaire although Negro older girls of high occupational status were almost as likely to complete it.

Table II-1 also shows some variation in the proportion completing the questionnaire by conforming-deviating subgroup. On a Guttman quasi-scale of Conforming-Deviating behaviors described below we divided subjects into three subgroups: Deviators, Conventional Conformers and Hyperconformers. All known delinquents and truants comprise a fourth subgroup. Examining rate of completion for these four subgroups of respondents, we find that except for white females, the Conventional Conformers were somewhat less likely to complete the questionnaire than were other types of respondents. Certainly there is no evidence that known deviators failed to complete the questionnaire in large numbers, though as pointed out above this rate of incompletion would be higher if we had not obtained a completed questionnaire for all persons in our interview group.

Other Sources of Data

Data were also secured on the academic performance of students, their conduct in the school and community, and their social background. This information was gathered from official agencies of the school and the community.

TABLE II-1: NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS THAT FAILED TO COMPLETE ALL OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, FOR CONFORMING AND DEVIATING SUBGROUPS: RACE, SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Sex, and Conforming-Deviating Subgroup	Total		Age						Occupational Status					
			10-13		14-15		16 & Over		High		Middle		Low	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
White Males														
Delinq. or Truancy Records	858	4.2	83	8.4	319	4.7	430	2.8	118	2.5	394	2.8	316	2.5
Self Rating of Deviation	500	3.6	173	1.4	166	2.4	208	2.4	108	1.9	215	1.9	144	0.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	6520	5.4	1495	5.5	2291	4.1	2351	2.8	1405	1.6	3054	2.6	1759	2.0
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	1368	3.3	689	2.2	423	3.3	209	1.4	292	0.3	597	0.8	431	0.7
Total	9246	4.9	2340	4.5	3199	3.9	3198	2.7	1923	1.5	4260	2.3	2650	1.7
White Females														
Delinq. or Truancy Records	211	1.9	56	0.0	96	4.2	55	0.0	22	0.0	95	3.2	91	0.0
Self Rating of Deviation	89	2.2	17	0.0	34	0.0	31	0.0	20	0.0	35	0.0	28	0.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	6049	1.7	1488	2.2	2150	1.3	2203	1.1	1364	0.5	2982	1.0	1625	1.1
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	2543	1.6	1142	1.3	878	0.9	438	0.7	494	0.4	1238	1.1	770	0.1
Total	8892	1.7	2703	1.7	3158	1.3	2727	1.0	1900	0.5	4350	1.0	2514	0.8

TABLE II-1: NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS THAT FAILED TO COMPLETE ALL OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, FOR CONFORMING AND DEVIATING SUBGROUPS: RACE, SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Sex, and Conforming-Deviating Subgroup	Total		Age						Occupational Status					
			10-13		14-15		16 & Over		High		Middle		Low	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Negro Males														
Delinq. or Truancy Records	138	8.0	33	15.2	52	9.6	49	2.0	5	0.0	47	4.3	81	6.2
Self Rating of Deviation	30	3.3	2	0.0	7	0.0	19	5.3	1	0.0	9	11.1	18	0.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	1123	10.2	242	14.0	366	9.6	394	4.8	90	4.4	329	6.4	620	5.3
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	262	5.3	95	2.1	87	5.7	56	1.8	25	0.0	90	1.1	135	3.0
Total	1553	9.0	372	11.0	512	8.8	518	4.2	121	3.3	475	5.3	854	4.9
Negro Females														
Delinq. or Truancy Records	42	4.8	12	8.3	19	5.3	11	0.0	1	0.0	8	0.0	31	3.2
Self Rating of Deviation	10	0.0	1	0.0	4	0.0	4	0.0	-	-	3	0.0	6	0.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	1014	3.6	231	4.8	390	3.1	330	2.1	80	0.0	305	2.0	601	2.7
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	698	2.7	275	3.6	223	2.2	140	2.1	39	0.0	223	0.4	418	1.7
Total	1764	3.3	519	4.2	636	2.8	485	2.1	120	0.0	539	1.3	1056	2.3

The official and unofficial records of the Davidson County Court were examined for the 1954-58 period and information was obtained on the number and type of offenses for which the subject was brought to the court. An official case of the court is one where a legal petition is entered and referred to the judge of the juvenile court for formal disposition; the disposition is then made a matter of official record. The types of formal disposition which the Davidson County Court usually made were those of probationary status and commitment to an institution for delinquent boys or girls. In some cases the petition is withdrawn or the case is "dismissed". The Davidson County Juvenile Court utilizes probation officers in an "informal" referee system. They screen cases for referral to the judge. Cases which are not referred become the unofficial cases of the court. Such cases cannot by definition include probationary status or commitment to an institution, although they may include arrangements for placement, guardianship, and so on.

The Attendance Division of the Nashville City Schools and the Attendance and Child Welfare Division of the Davidson County Schools provided information on truancy cases and a record of the dropouts from each school. The information from the Nashville city schools is more reliable since the Attendance Division maintains daily liaison with every school in the system.

Each school maintains a cumulative record folder for each enrolled student. These folders are retained either by the school or the respective superintendents office depending upon the historical agreement developed for the retention and transfer of folders. We were able to obtain cumulative record information for almost all subjects but the amount and quality of it varied considerably. Some schools took the matter of maintaining the cumulative record folder as an important task and the records could be considered in excellent condition; others did not. Similarly, some school officials considered it important to get up-to-date test scores on all students, while for one school we were unable to get a single Stanford Achievement Test Score since the school personnel considered their own testing program so superior that they actually destroyed the information on Stanford Achievement Test scores in the cumulative record folders sent to the school from "feeder schools". On the whole, test scores were obtained for roughly three-fourths or more of all students, depending upon the particular test. The main test scores obtained from the cumulative record folder are the Stanford Achievement Reading and Arithmetic Grade Equivalent Test scores (8th grade scores unless a student was registered in the 7th grade) and an intelligence test score, generally the Otis or the Kuhlman-Anderson group tests. The classroom grades in English and arithmetic also were obtained. The cumulative record folder provided as well the information on grade in school, age and sex.

Scales

A measurement problem in any study of attitudes or opinions is to determine whether the items in a particular area of content have a single meaning. Questions or items may appear to contain a single meaning or thought and yet fail to elicit responses to a common stimulus. The scale analysis developed by Louis Guttman is a partial solution to this problem since it permits one to accept the assumption of unidimensionality of content if certain criteria for selecting the items are met. The Guttman technique of scaling therefore was adopted to insure more reliable measures of some of the attitude areas in this study. Only a small number of attributes were tested for scalibility since the scaling procedure necessitates including a substantial number of items for each scale.

None of the scales developed for the present research meet all of the criteria of scalability established for Guttman scales.[8] The four scales employed in the test of hypotheses in this study do however meet the criteria established by Guttman for a quasi-scale, i.e., the total image types form a perfect scale.[9] The four quasi-scales used in this study are a quit-school scale, a police honesty scale, a permissive stealing scale and a conforming-deviating behavior scale. The reader must be cautioned against reification of the terms used to refer to the scales. The scales are defined by the order relation among a set of items; the common content of the items presumably defines the scale. The degree to which our items define a range for the concept we attach to the scale is not known nor is their validity demonstrated except to a degree for the quit-school and conforming behavior scales. By way of illustration, it should be emphasized that attaching the term "Conforming Behavior Scale" to one of the scales should in no way suggest any of the following: (1) that reference is made to a form of 'general conformity'; (2) that the scale items cover the range of norms and behaviors involved in conforming and deviating behavior from norms; (3) that the scale is validated. Rather, what we have is a quasi-scale which segregates subjects into types defined by several items presumed to measure conforming and deviating behavior, types which are of some analytical value in the investigation. The scale type should always be viewed in terms of the items which define the type. For this reason we present below the content of each scale together with some summary information on distribution by scale type and the degree

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[8] Warren Torgerson, Theory and Methods of Scaling, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959.

[9] Louis Guttman, "The Israel Alpha Technique for Scale Analysis" Chapter XIX in Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

to which the scale meets scale criteria.

One other point needs to be emphasized in interpreting conclusions based on tabulations involving the scales. As is so often the case in multivariate analysis, moving beyond a zero or first order relationship necessitates combining categories. In the case of a Guttman scale this means that the actual number of scale types is decreased by combination and the items which separate the combined types are then the discriminating items defining the analytical class.

Quit-School Scale: The four items in the quit-school scale are:

I want to quit school right now (hardest to accept).
Most of the time I don't want to go to school.
There are times when I want to quit school.
There are many times when I don't want to go to school (easiest to accept).

These scale items are open to question on the grounds that they may not be an adequate sample of the quit-school universe of scale items nor do they cover the range. Given the syntactical form of the statements, it also is possible that they simply form a scale testing the reliability of a single quit-school item. This criticism is not a particularly serious one for this study since the scale is primarily designed to discriminate those who quit from those who do not.

Police-Honesty Scale: The items in this scale are:

Most policemen will steal things on the job if they get a chance (hardest to accept).
Most policemen will let you buy your way off if you pay their price.
Most policemen will sometimes break many of the laws they should enforce.
Policemen are always honest (easiest to disagree).

Permissive-Stealing Scale: The items in this scale are:

It's all right to take things that don't belong to you if everybody else is doing it (hardest to accept).
It's all right to take things that don't belong to you if they are only little things.
It's all right to take little things that don't belong to you for favors or reminders.
It's all right to take things that don't belong to you if you are poor and hungry (easiest to accept).

Table II-2 presents information on the coefficient of scale reproduction and the randomness of the error for each of the scales. By adopting a criterion of 90 per cent reproduction for accepting an area as a scale, it can be seen that all three scales meet this criterion for both the city and county subgroups. None of the scales, however, can be said to have solely random error in the nonscale types. For the police-honesty scale, the error is random for the scale as a whole if one accepts the 5 per cent error criterion as differentiating random from nonrandom error scale scores. The error does not appear to be random for both subgroups, however. Unique scale-score five in the city subgroup appears to have nonrandom error as does unique scale score two for the county subgroup. The quit-school scale has a pattern of nonrandom error in scale score five by our criterion and for the permissive-stealing scale it appears in both scores two and six.

Two other criteria of scalability were examined for each of the scales; these data are not presented here. These are the criteria that there must be less error than non-error in any category and that question error should not exceed 15 per cent. The quit-school and police-honesty scales meet these criteria adequately but the permissive-stealing scale fails to meet these criteria in some cases.

None of these three scales can be accepted as a perfect scale if one accepts satisfaction of the four criteria used to evaluate the scale as adequate for affirming that one has a scale with a unidimensional content. The Israel Alpha Technique was utilized to determine whether the items form a quasi-scale on the assumption that the other dimensions operating might be relatively insignificant. The Israel Alpha Technique was chosen as a technique for assessing whether the items formed a quasi-scale since Israel Alpha is held to be especially useful for a small sample of items and a large sample of respondents. The three scales are

TABLE II-2: -- Per Cent of Respondents in Each Unique Scale Score for Three Scale Content Areas, and Summary Measures of Scalability: City and County Subgroups, 1957.

Unique Scale Score	Quit-School City	Quit-School County	Police-Honesty City	Police-Honesty County	Permissive-Stealing City	Permissive-Stealing County
0*	15.6	25.8	12.9	20.0	22.7	28.4
1*	11.5	15.1	21.8	19.1	12.5	10.6
2	4.4	4.6	2.9	5.6**	5.6**	7.0**
3*	20.9	19.1	15.5	19.1	7.4	5.6
4	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.5	2.0
5	5.1**	5.7**	5.8**	4.2	2.6	2.1
6	.6	.7	1.5	1.6	4.1	6.4**
7*	17.1	14.2	19.5	14.1	16.4	11.2
8	.2	.1	.2	.6	1.0	.8
9	.6	.3	.6	.7	1.6	1.0
10	.4	.2	.3	.4	.7	.9
11	4.6	2.5	2.2	2.8	2.7	1.8
12	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	.4
13	.6	.2	1.0	.7	1.1	.9
14	.6	.3	.9	.6	2.1	2.7
15*	16.5	9.4	13.2	8.9	21.0	18.1
Total Cases	9,730	12,524	9,730	12,524	9,730	12,524
% Pure Scale Types	81.7	83.6	83.0	81.1	79.9	74.0
Coeff. Reproduction	95.3	95.8	95.6	95.1	94.0	93.2

*Pure Scale Types **Non-random error is greater than five per cent.

said to form quasi-scales since the total image types form a perfect scale.

The Conforming-Deviating Behavior scale consists of the seven items below. Six of the seven items are self-ratings of conforming or deviating activity. The most conforming response is defined as a negative response to all of the items.

1. Would not get somebody who was older to try and stop them. (This is a response to the following situation: "If you were with your friends and they wanted to do something that you knew was against the law, what would you do?")
2. Never had perfect attendance at Sunday School.
3. Spent two or more nights out last week with friends.
4. Never study at home in the evening.
5. Smokes.
6. often swipe things.
7. Often break laws.

It is not difficult to see that the items are related to structural characteristics of a population and that they cover a limited number of conforming and deviating behavior situations or norms. Attendance at Sunday School and the number of nights out last week with friends are a function of status position, school and community opportunities to go to Sunday School or to spend nights with friends, etc. The failure of these items to form a perfect scale is related in part to differences in structural variation for these items. The items form a quasi-scale however with a high coefficient of scale reproduction.

Self ratings for a large number of conforming and deviating behaviors were obtained for all respondents. Twelve of these self-ratings were selected and a summated rating score obtained. Seven of the items were self-ratings of deviant activity and include the following: gamble often; often have unexcused absences from school; often swiped things; often drag race on a public street or highway; ridden in a stolen auto at least once; often stay out after midnight; gotten drunk more than once. All subjects were first given a summary score based on each deviating behavior item having a score of one.

These scores range from a high of seven, operationally called the most deviating, to a score of zero, the least deviating. Differentiation then was sought within the zero score group by developing a summary score for five items which are self-ratings of conforming activity. The following items each were assigned a score of one: had perfect attendance at Sunday School at least once; spent two or fewer nights out last week with friends; often study at home in the evening; pass up chances to have a good time because I may get into trouble with the law; and would not keep friend who was leading me into serious trouble. The conforming scores range from zero as the least conforming to five as the most conforming. Thirteen score groups result.

There is a substantial degree of correlation between the seven item Conforming and Deviating Behavior Guttman quasi-scale and the 12 summated rating scores, a correlation of .69 . This correlation is in part accounted for by the fact that they share a common set of items: nights out last week with friends, attendance at Sunday School, studying at home in the evenings, and swipe things.

An attempt was made to validate the Guttman quasi-scale and the summating rating scores of conforming and deviating behavior. The independent criterion chosen was that of predicting how well they discriminate juvenile delinquents with juvenile court records from those who are not so classified as delinquent. The power of the scale to discriminate among these groups of course is in part a function of the size of score groups vis-a-vis the size of the predicted behavior category. Since delinquents comprise only 7.5 per cent of all our white males, this means that scale type seven, the most deviating type, on the Guttman scale could select almost all of the delinquents since it contains 7.1 per cent of the total white male population. Similarly, we would expect deviating scores seven, six and five would include all of the white male delinquents if the scores were perfectly selective of delinquents since they comprise 10.2 per cent of all white males.

Tables II-3 and II-4 present the cumulative per cent distribution of the total white male population and cumulative per cent distributions for types of official delinquency by score groups and scale types on the two scales. It can readily be seen that neither scale is highly discriminating with respect to juvenile delinquency cases. Scale type seven of the Guttman quasi-scale selects only 19 per cent of all juvenile court cases and there is little difference in discrimination between traffic and nontraffic types of offense. Deviating score groups seven, six and five select only 18 per cent of all juvenile court cases. This instrument is somewhat more discriminating of nontraffic than of traffic offenders.

Despite the failure of the quasi-scale and the summated rating score groups to predict official delinquent behavior--one would have to predict nondelinquency for all scale types and score groups--there is a moderate degree of discrimination within each instrument. This can be seen in the fact that both instruments cumulate delinquency cases by score group more rapidly than they cumulate total population. The major utility of either instrument however would seem to lie in the discrimination provided at the conforming end of the continuum. For the Guttman quasi-scale, almost 15 per cent of the population is in scale types zero and one, score groups with a low rate of delinquency. Similarly, conforming summated rating scores four and five have about 12 per cent of all males and a delinquency rate of less than two per cent. We therefore utilize these score groups as our most conforming groups in the population--sometimes referring to them as hyper-conforming in contrast with the presumably more conventional conforming in adjacent score groups or scale types. Following a similar line of reasoning, we at times treat the score groups with our most deviating

TABLE II-3: -- Conforming Deviant Behavior Guttman Quasi-Scale Types by Official Court Record: White Males Only

Scale Type	Total Males	Cumulative Per Cent of Total Pop.	Cumulative Per Cent of All J.C.	Cumulative Per Cent of J.C. Not Traffic	Cumulative Per Cent of J.C. Traffic
From Most Deviating					
7	646	7.1	18.6	19.5	15.9
6	616	13.8	36.5	37.2	34.2
5	590	20.2	48.7	49.0	47.6
4	1589	37.5	69.5	71.7	62.2
3	1391	52.7	83.0	83.9	79.9
2	2979	85.2	94.9	95.2	93.9
1	1219	98.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	129	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	9159		688	524	164

TABLE II-4: ---Summated Rating Scores by Official Court Record of Delinquent Behavior: White Males Only

Score*	Total Males	Per Cent of Score with J.C. Record	Cumulative Per Cent of Total Pop.	Cumulative Per Cent of All J.C.	Cumulative Per Cent of Grand Larceny	Cumulative Per Cent of Petty Larceny	Cumulative Per Cent of Loitering	Cumulative Per Cent of Traffic
Deviating Score								
7	116	28.5	1.3	4.7	10.0	4.3	2.3	0.5
6	165	27.9	3.1	11.3	13.3	10.8	11.5	4.3
5	246	19.5	5.8	18.2	16.6	20.6	17.7	8.6
4	301	18.9	9.2	26.4	26.6	30.4	26.2	18.1
3	471	17.6	14.4	38.3	33.3	41.3	38.5	30.4
2	851	13.1	23.9	54.2	53.3	54.3	53.9	47.0
1	1601	8.9	41.7	74.5	73.3	66.3	70.8	74.0
Conforming Score								
1	695	5.6	49.4	80.1	76.6	77.2	76.2	79.7
2	1522	3.5	66.3	87.8	86.6	87.0	85.4	87.3
3	1967	2.9	88.2	96.1	89.9	95.7	96.9	96.3
4	957	2.8	98.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.6
5	92	1.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Males	8984	699			30	96	133	211

*Excludes 140 cases with a zero residual score, or 1.6% of all white males.

respondents as the least conforming, i.e., deviators. We have reason to believe however that if we exclude persons with a known history of delinquency and truancy, those who remain in score groups or scale types where self-ratings indicate a substantial degree of deviating activity are not as homogeneous a group as the known deviators. We now examine this problem.

An attempt was made to assess the reliability and validity of the Guttman quasi-scale by testing whether respondents in any of the scale types were more likely to have falsified some responses to the questionnaire items than respondents in other scale types.

To make the test we utilized a coder rating of whether or not some responses to questionnaire items were judged by the coder as false, coded as "suspect false information." Two major criteria were used by the coders in making the judgment "suspect false information." The first criterion was a judgment that the response to two or more questions of fact were deliberately falsified. Most of these fact questions were in the social background information section of the questionnaire as for example, a respondent might give false age, sex, size of family or height and weight responses. The second criterion was a judgment that the respondent was giving facetious or factitious responses to attitude or opinion questions. This judgment was based on two types of observations, either the respondent appeared to be deliberately failing to follow instructions as for example, he repeatedly checked all possible responses to an item, or he responded by either facetious or factitious comment, the latter often pornographic in content.

The judgment by a coder that false information is suspected in the questionnaire does not mean that in all cases, or even in most, more than two responses were either false, factitious or facetious. We in fact know that we get pure scale type responses on several scales for subjects suspected of giving false information. It is unlikely that such a result would occur with a consistently factitious or facetious response pattern, or for that matter one where most responses were deliberately falsified. This means that in almost all instances where we suspect false information we do not know whether the response to a specific item is true or false. The fact that subjects practice some deception in questionnaire responses by no means allows one to conclude that all or even most of the responses are invalid.

We divided the eight Guttman scale types into three types for purposes of this reliability-validity check. All in scale type seven, those who endorsed all items including the extreme one, "often break laws," were called "Deviators". Those who responded negatively to all items or accepted only the "easiest" items, "Would not get somebody who was older to try and stop them," were designated "Hyperconformers."[10] Respondents in scale types two through six are designated Conventional Conformers. From all scale types, however, we selected all cases of truancy and delinquency known to school or the court personnel. These are called "Delinquent on Truant Record" cases. The coders judgment of course was made without knowledge of his history of delinquency or truancy.

Table II-5 presents information on the extent to which respondents are suspected of giving false information for each of the four subgroups with race, sex, age and occupational status as controls. Major conclusions drawn from this table are:

1) Regardless of race and sex, persons of high occupational status are less likely to be suspected as giving false information than persons of low occupational status but there is very little variation by age.

2) Coders were least likely to suspect false information among white hyperconformers regardless of sex, age or occupational status, but this is not true for Negro hyperconformers. Among hyperconformers, the prevalence of "suspected false" information is much greater for

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[10] Unless otherwise stated, the term hyperconformer is used in this report in the form "beyond the ordinary" and not in the form "beyond the norm". The latter usage is followed only for a subgroup in the interview sample.

TABLE II-5: — Number and Per Cent of Respondents Coders Judged as Having Falsified Some Questionnaire Responses, For Conforming and Deviating Subgroups: Race, Sex, Age and Occupational Status as Controls

Race, Sex, and Conforming-Deviating Subgroup	Total		Occupational Status						Age					
			High		Middle		Low		10-13		14-15		16 & Over	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
White Males														
Delinq. or Truancy Record	858	10.4	118	4.2	394	9.9	316	10.4	83	8.4	319	12.5	430	8.8
Self Rating of Deviation	500	23.4	108	14.8	215	20.0	144	27.8	73	24.7	166	17.5	208	18.3
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	6520	8.3	1405	4.6	3054	7.5	1759	10.2	1495	7.8	2291	11.0	2351	7.0
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	1368	5.0	292	2.8	597	4.7	431	6.3	689	4.7	423	4.0	209	6.7
Total	9246	8.8	1923	4.8	4260	8.0	2650	10.6	2340	7.4	3199	8.4	3198	8.0
White Females														
Delinq. or Truancy Record	211	6.2	22	4.5	95	5.3	91	6.6	56	1.8	96	8.3	55	1.8
Self Rating of Deviation	89	23.6	20	10.0	35	17.1	28	32.1	17	35.3	34	14.7	31	16.1
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	6049	2.7	1364	2.3	2982	2.2	1625	3.4	1488	3.0	2150	2.4	2203	2.2
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	2543	1.8	494	1.8	1238	1.6	770	1.8	1142	1.9	878	1.6	438	1.4
Total	8892	2.8	1900	2.3	4350	2.3	2514	3.4	2703	2.7	3158	2.5	2727	2.2

TABLE II-5: -- Number and Per Cent of Respondents Coders Judged as Having Falsified Some Questionnaire Responses, For Conforming and Deviating Subgroups: Race, Sex, Age and Occupational Status as Controls (continued)

Race, Sex, and Conforming-Deviating Subgroup	Total		Occupational Status						Age					
			High		Middle		Low		10-13		14-15		16 & Over	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Negro Males														
Delinq. or Truancy Record	138	16.7	5	0.0	47	14.9	81	18.5	33	9.1	52	23.1	49	12.2
Self Rating of Deviation	30	13.3	1	0.0	9	11.1	18	11.1	2	100.1	7	0.0	19	0.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	1123	17.6	90	13.3	329	16.4	620	19.2	242	16.1	366	15.0	394	15.5
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	262	13.7	25	12.0	90	14.4	135	13.3	95	14.7	87	12.6	56	14.3
Total	1553	16.8	121	12.4	475	15.8	854	18.0	372	15.6	512	15.2	518	14.5
Negro Females														
Delinq. or Truancy Record	42	16.7	1	0.0	8	12.5	31	16.1	12	25.0	19	15.8	11	9.1
Self Rating of Deviation	10	30.0	--	--	3	66.7	6	0.0	1	0.0	4	25.0	4	25.0
Self Rating of Conventional Conf.	1014	8.3	80	5.0	305	9.2	601	7.5	231	8.7	390	7.7	330	7.0
Self Rating of Hyperconformer	698	10.2	39	12.8	223	9.4	418	10.0	275	9.5	223	7.6	140	9.3
Total	1764	9.4	120	7.5	539	9.6	1056	8.7	519	9.4	636	8.0	485	7.8

Negroes than whites regardless of sex, age, and occupational status.

3) Among whites who are in the most deviating scale type, the prevalence of "suspect false information" is higher than that in other scale types and higher than that among known delinquent and truant deviators regardless of sex, age, and occupational status. The relationship does not hold for Negroes.

4) White boys with known histories of delinquency and truancy are not judged as giving false information in much greater proportion than the average respondent.

Whites are less often suspected of giving false information than Negroes regardless of sex, age and occupational status. Boys are more likely than girls to be suspected of giving false information, regardless of age and occupational status.

We have pointed out that the coder's judgment was independent of knowledge of scale score or knowledge of actual behavior of the subject. It is possible of course that coders were more likely to suspect false information in subjects who rate themselves as highly deviating and least likely to suspect it for persons who rate themselves as highly conforming. Such a bias might account for the observed difference by scale type. This reasoning seems plausible except it does not account for the fact that persons with known histories of delinquency, many of whom rate themselves as more or less deviating, have a much lower proportion of "suspect" false information than those who rate themselves as deviating but who do not have a known record of deviation. The prevalence among the latter is at least twice that among the former.

How does one explain the fact then that there would appear to be more lying among those who rate themselves as deviators but who are not known to public agencies as deviators than among those who are so known. There are a number of explanations for this large difference of which we shall consider only two here.

1) It is possible that of the persons who rate themselves as deviators there is a substantial number who are lying about their deviation. This is quite possible since the self-ratings were likely to lead to some lying. However in those cases where we were able to determine by other means that subjects actually lied, it was in the opposite direction--they denied their deviation. It is possible, however, that there are subjects who derive "satisfaction" from identifying themselves as deviators, particularly on questionnaires, when in point of fact this is not the case.

2) It is possible that the self-rated deviators for whom there is no known record of delinquency are able to avoid detection by official agencies because of their skill in deception. Their deception in the questionnaire is but another instance of deception since much of the deception occurs for those items which were most likely to lead to personal identification and not for other items. We can see this from the fact that a much larger proportion of subjects for whom no age information was available than of all subjects were suspected as giving false information.

We cannot reasonably choose between these two alternatives though we are inclined to suspect that both operate here. From other evidence on falsifying information on behavior self-ratings, we are inclined to believe that actual deviators are as likely to cloak their deviation as they are to cloak identification of themselves. For this reason we suspect that among our group of self-rated deviators there are a substantial number of persons who achieve some "gain" by identifying themselves as highly deviating when their actual behavior is not consonant with this self-rating. The questionnaire may induce this kind of deception.

Special Measurement Problems[11]

A Comparison Of Three Measures Of Attitude Intensity. The rank ordering of respondents on attitude questions by Guttman scaling of content does not provide a rationale for classifying respondents as favorable or unfavorable on a particular attitude area. As a form of ordinal measurement, Guttman scaling of content tells us that Individual A is more favorable than Individual B on the particular attitude. The second component in Guttman scale analysis — intensity — is supposed to divide respondents into favorable and unfavorable types. The theory of this second component states that intensity scores should yields U-shaped or a J-shaped curve when plotted against content scale scores.[12] Those respondents who fall

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[11] This section was prepared by Edward L. McDill.

at the extremes of the content scale are the ones whose attitudes are held with the greatest intensity. The content scale position corresponding to the lowest point on the intensity function is regarded as the "zero point" or point of neutrality which divides the favorable from the unfavorable side of the scale. Thus, according to Guttman and Suchman,[13] the zero

point provides an objective basis for dichotomizing a sample of respondents into favorable and unfavorable subtypes on a particular attitude.

Suchman further concludes that both the shape of an intensity curve and the location of the zero point is invariant for different measures of intensity using the same content scale. He reached this conclusion from his study concerning the attitudes of enlisted men toward army life. He found that the shape and zero point of curves derived from different measures of intensity coincide almost perfectly.[14]

The data for white males in grades 7 through 12 were used to replicate

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[12] In the ideal case the intensity scores have a perfect curvilinear relation with the content scale scores. That is, if there were a perfect curvilinear relationship between intensity scores and content scores, all persons in any one content rank would have the same rank on intensity. Edward A. Suchman, "The Intensity Component in Attitude and Opinion Research," in Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., Measurement and Prediction (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 213-276.

[13] Louis Guttman and Edward A. Suchman, "Intensity and a Zero Point for Attitude Analysis," The American Sociological Review, 12 (April, 1947), pp. 57-67.

[14] Suchman, op. cit.

Suchman's conclusions and to draw inferences about their generality. The two scales: (1) Attitude Toward Quitting School and (2) Attitude Toward the Honesty of Policemen were used since they satisfy all criteria except one, that relating to the random distribution of error.

To test Suchman's conclusion that the shape of the intensity curve and the location of the zero point is invariant for different measures of intensity, three measures of intensity were obtained for each content scale. These measures were among those used by Suchman.

The first measure of intensity for each content scale was constructed using the fold-over technique on the Likert responses to the content items (Measure A). A (3-2-1-1-2-3) scoring system was used to obtain this measure.

The second measure for each content scale was obtained by following each content item with the separate intensity question, "How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?" (Measure B). The answer choices for this separate intensity measure were "Not Hard," "Fairly Hard," and "Very Hard." The original plan was to subject the responses to these separate intensity questions to Guttman scale criteria to obtain a scale of intensity. However, the range of marginal distributions of responses was too narrow to permit scaling. In each content area more than 70 per cent of the respondents gave the most extreme intensity response "Not Hard" to every intensity question. In order to compensate for this and obtain as wide a range of intensity scores as possible, a scoring system was adopted which gave the respondent a score of 1 on the intensity question if his response was "Not Hard" and a score of 0 if his response was either "Fairly Hard" or "Very Hard." Thus, intensity scores range from 0 to 4 for Measure B of intensity for each content scale.

The third measure of intensity for each content scale was obtained by following each content item with the separate intensity question "How sure are you of this answer?" (Measure C). The answer choices for this separate intensity measure are "Very Sure," "Fairly Sure" and "Not Sure." The original plan was to also subject the responses to these separate intensity questions to Guttman scale criteria to obtain a scale of intensity. However, the range of marginal distributions of responses to the intensity questions again was too narrow to permit scaling. In each content area more than 60 per cent of the respondents gave the most extreme intensity response "Very Sure" to every intensity question. Consequently, if a respondent gave the most extreme intensity response "Very Sure" to the separate intensity question, he was given a score of 1 on that question, and if he gave either of the responses "Fairly Sure" or "Not Sure" he was given a score of 0 on that question. Intensity scores thus range from 0 to 4 for Measure C of intensity for each content scale.

To obtain the regression of intensity scores on content scale scores, Suchman's technique of plotting the percentiles of the midpoints of content against the percentiles of the medians of intensity was followed.[15] These plots produced a J-shaped curve for each of the three measures of intensity in each content area. However, there is a considerable amount of error around the curves. As each curve approaches the abscissa there is little variation in the intensity scores, resulting in an interval of inflection rather than a point of inflection. This interval may be designated as the zero interval.

A comparison of the three curves for each content area reveals that the one which most closely approximates the ideal curve is that based on the Likert responses to the content items (Measure A). For both content scales the curve based on Measure A comes closer to having a point of inflection and is nearer the abscissa than either Measures B or C. This finding is in contradiction to that of Suchman. He found that for several trials in which intensity and content measures were obtained from the same question using the foldover technique (as in Measure A), only one produced the desired intensity curve. However, the desired intensity curves were uniformly obtained when separate intensity questions were used.[16] This finding of the present study must be accepted with caution because by obtaining both content and intensity scores from the same question, the criterion of experimental independence is not met.

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[15] Suchman, op. cit., p. 220.

The second finding of the present study which is in contradiction to that of Suchman is concerned with the location of the zero points for the intensity curves. When an intensity curve contains a wide zero interval, the exact location of the zero point is difficult to determine. Suchman has devised a procedure for obtaining a single point approximation of the zero point for those curves in which a wide range of neutrality exists by using the median content percentile of the respondents lowest on intensity.[17] Another useful procedure to estimate the zero point is to find the median content scale score for the lowest intensity rank.[18] These two estimates of the zero point were computed for the three different measures of intensity in each content area and are summarized in Table II-6.

A comparison of these estimated zero points shows that, on the whole,

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[16] Suchman, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[18] Louis Guttman, "The Principal Components of Scalable Attitudes," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld (ed.) *Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences.* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 216-257.

TABLE II-6

COMPARISON OF ESTIMATED ZERO POINT FOR THREE MEASURES OF INTENSITY: QUIT SCHOOL AND HONESTY OF POLICEMEN SCALES

Scale	Estimated Zero Point Based on Median Content Percentile of Respondents in Lowest Intensity Rank			Estimated Zero Point Based on Median Content Scale Score of Respondents in Lowest Intensity Rank		
	Intensity Measure			Intensity Measure		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Quit School	72%	61%	62%	3.24	2.79	2.77
Honesty of Policemen	86%	59%	49%	3.94	2.61	2.31

they differ considerably. The only estimated zero points for the two content areas which are strikingly similar are those obtained from Measures B and C of the Quit School Scale. These differ by only one per cent using the median content percentile procedure and by only two per cent using the median content scale score procedure. The most extreme difference in estimated zero points between any two measures is that between Measure A and C of the Honesty of Policemen Scale. The estimated zero points for these two measures differ by 37 per cent using the median content percentile procedure and 1.6 using the median content scale score procedure.[19]

These differences would appear to demonstrate that in this study different measures of intensity for the same content scale produce intensity curves which differ in shape and in the location of the zero point.

However, this finding should be qualified. The number of scale ranks for both the content and intensity measures may be too small to provide a sufficient number of plotted points for accurately locating the zero point. The greater the number of content and intensity ranks, the more narrow the zero interval, and the more narrow the zero interval, the greater the accuracy in locating the zero point. Despite this qualification, other evidence is presented to support the finding that the shape of the curves and the location of the zero points are not invariant for the different measures of intensity. This evidence is the relatively low degree of association between the different measures of intensity for both content areas. An inspection of the data upon which the curves are based reveals that a considerable number of the respondents who are in the low ranks of intensity for Measure A for both content scales are in the high ranks of intensity for Measures B and C. This finding led to the belief that the association between the measures of intensity is low. Therefore, the association between the measures of intensity was computed for each scale. The significance of each relationship was determined by the chi square test, and the degree of association was determined by the coefficient of contingency. The results are found in Table II-7 which shows that the association between the measures is far from perfect. For the Quit School Scale the highest association between any two measures is .52, Measures B and C. This association is only 63 per cent of the maximum value. For the Honesty of Policemen Scale the highest association between any two measures is .45, Measures B and C (55 per cent of the maximum value). For both scales the highest association is between Measures B and C, the second highest is between A and C, and the lowest is between A and B.

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[19] Given a sample of the present size, differences among the three methods in proportions classified above and below the estimated zero points are all statistically significant beyond the .01 level.

In order to insure that the relatively low degree of association found between the measures of intensity is not the result of the different scoring system used to obtain Measure A as opposed to that used to obtain Measures B and C, the degree of association between the measures of intensity was computed for each content item in both scales.[20]

For the Quit School Scale the coefficients of contingency range from .32 to .50, while for the Honesty of Policemen Scale, they range from .24 to .52. For all four content items in the Quit School Scale, the association

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[20] The computations were made from the answer choices for each item after placing them into one of three categories: low, medium, or high. For Measure A the answer choices "Strongly Agree" and "Strongly Disagree" are classified as high; the answer choices "Agree" and "Disagree" are classified as medium; and the answer choices "Agree a Little" and "Disagree a Little" are classified as low. For Measure B and C respectively, the answer choices "Not Hard" and "Very Sure" are classified as high; the answer choices choices "Fairly Hard" and "Fairly Sure" are classified as medium; and the answer choices "Very Hard" and "Not Sure" are classified as low. The chi squares and coefficients of contingency were computed on 3 x 3 contingency tables.

TABLE II-7

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT MEASURES OF INTENSITY FOR QUIT SCHOOL AND HONESTY OF POLICEMEN SCALES[a]

Measures of Intensity	Measure A[b]	Measure B[c]	Measure C
Quit School			
Measure A	-	.34 (41%)	.41 (50%)
Measure B	.001 P	-	.52 (63%)
Measure C	.001 P	.001 P	-
Honesty of Policemen			
Measure A	-	.32 (38%)	.41 (51%)
Measure B	.001 P	-	.45 (55%)
Measure C	.001 P	.001 P	-

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[a] Each measure was trichotomized as closely as possible into groups with the same number of cases.

[b] Probability values for chi square are read in the left hand corner of the table. Values for the coefficient of contingency are read in the right hand corner of the table.

[c] Figures in parentheses express each coefficient as a percentage of the maximum value of the coefficient of contingency. The maximum value of the coefficient of contingency for trichotomized variables is .816.

between Measures B and C is the highest, and the association between Measures A and C is the second highest. For all four content items in the Honesty of Policemen Scale, the association between Measures B and C is the highest, and for three out of four items the association between Measures A and C is the second highest. These findings are consistent with those on the association between the measures of intensity based on the composite score for the four items in the scale as summarized in Table II-7. These associations are further evidence that the different measures of intensity do not yield the same results. That is, one would logically expect that in the presence of far from perfect associations between the measures, the intensity curves obtained from these measures would differ from each other in shape and location of the zero point. These findings are inconsistent with those of both Suchman[21] and Katz[22] who indicated that different methods of intensity measurement yield the same results.

This finding of the present study is even more surprising in view of the fact that in the questionnaire both forms of the separate intensity question immediately followed each content item. It could be plausibly argued that some spurious association results between the different measures of intensity. In consequence, the "true" association between the different measures of intensity may be lower than that shown in the above tables.

Several factors could account for the inconsistency of the findings of the present study and those of Suchman and Katz, including differences in populations, content areas, measuring instruments, and testing conditions. Regardless of what accounts for the discrepancy, however, its presence indicates that their conclusions possess limited generality.

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[21] Suchman, op. cit.

[22] Daniel Katz, "The Measurement of Intensity," in Hadley Cantril, Gauging Public Opinion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944), pp. 51-65.

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The problem of tests of significance for observed characteristics of a population is dealt with in several ways in this study.

The Davidson County population of school children is considered a universe for purposes of this study. Parameters for the population therefore are treated as actual rather than estimated ones.

A special problem of estimating the size and significance of an observed relation arises however in connection with the model of multivariate analysis employed in this study. Much of the analysis is undertaken as a form of partial association where a total association, say between A and B, is observed at successively higher orders of partial association, say C, D, E and F. The problem of estimating the size of the relationship is especially difficult when one is dealing with a dependent variable where the incidence or prevalence of certain categories of the dependent variable vary with the attributes introduced as partial controls. This means that the number of cases in categories of the dependent variable become very small in some of the partial tables, particularly as one moves to successively higher orders of partial association. For this reason, we have generally not estimated the size of the relationship. Rather we have attempted to assess whether or not the relationship continues to exist at successively higher orders of partial association, and if it does not to specify the conditions under which it holds, assuming it is a genuine and not a spurious association.

We have chosen a nonparametric test, the sign test, as a test of statistical significance to learn whether the distribution of the direction of the relationship in N subgroups could be expected to occur by chance. Let us briefly examine the use of the sign test in the form of multivariate analysis known as the elaboration by partial association technique.

The procedure for using the sign test differs from that used in the t test and some other tests in that attention is directed to the *sign* of the relationship between two sets of observations rather than to the *size* of the relationship. Like the t test, the sign test has been used to compare measures taken on experimental and control groups or on the same group in a before-and-after situation to determine the effect of some test factor or experimental condition with respect to test performance or attitude change. In this procedure, values observed in the control group are subtracted from those observed in the experimental group and if the difference is positive a plus sign is given to the pair of observations. If the difference between the pair of observations is negative then the pair is given a minus sign. There are two methods for dealing with ties. One of these is to arbitrarily assign pluses to one half of the ties and minuses to the other half.[23] The other method is to throw away the ties and deal with fewer comparisons.[24] If the observations of test performance or attitudes were the same in both groups, then the probability expectation would be that the number of plus signs would equal the number of minus signs.[25] The null hypothesis would be accepted that there is no difference in the pairs of observations made of the two groups. The null hypothesis would be rejected when the distribution positive and negative signs differs significantly from equality. The point of statistical significance depends upon the number of comparisons (or signs) and the level of significance selected by the user of the test. Tables are available for determining whether or not a distribution of signs is significant at the 1, 5, 10, and 25 per cent levels of significance when the number of signs is one hundred or less. See Table II-8. If the nature of the experiment is such that the direction of the difference has been predicted, then the onesided sign test may be used and the percentage levels of significance may be halved so that the per cent levels of significance are .5, 2.5, 5, and 12.5.[26] A brief discussion of the power and efficiency of the sign test follows.

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[23] W. J. Dixon and A. M. Mood, "The Statistical Sign Test," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 41 (1946) p. 558.

[24] Frederick Mosteller and Robert R. Bush, "Selected Quantitative Techniques," *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Edited by Gardner Lindzey. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Co., 1954), p. 312.

[25] *Ibid*.

The sign test is quite effective in avoiding Type One errors. If a significance level of 5 per cent is selected, only six comparisons with signs in the same direction are needed to reject the null hypothesis. The sign test is less economical if it is necessary to avoid Type Two errors. A table has been prepared which shows the relationship between the power of the sign test, the number of comparisons, and the 5 per cent significance level.[27] For example, this table shows that 327 comparisons are necessary to avoid making a type two error fewer than one out of ten times at the 5 per cent significance level.

The efficiency of the sign test compares favorably with that of the t test when the number of observations is small.[28] Efficiency here refers to the wastefulness of using the sign test in a situation where the data conform to the assumptions of the t test. Comparison of the two tests

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[26] Dixon and Mood, op. cit., p. 561.

[27] W. MacStewart, "A Note on the Power of the Sign Test," Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 12 (1941) p. 238.

[28] Moses, op. cit., p. 125.

TABLE II-8

TABLE OF CRITICAL VALUES OF T FOR THE SIGN TEST

	Per Cent Level of Significance					Per Cent Level of Significance			
n	1	5	10	25	n	1	5	10	25
1	-	-	-	-	51	15	18	19	20
2	-	-	-	-	52	16	18	19	21
3	-	-	-	0	53	16	18	20	21
4	-	-	-	0	54	17	19	20	22
5	-	-	0	0	55	17	19	20	22
6	-	0	0	1	56	17	20	21	23
7	-	0	0	1	57	18	20	21	23
8	0	0	1	1	58	18	21	22	24
9	0	1	1	2	59	19	21	22	24
10	0	1	1	2	60	19	21	23	25
11	0	1	2	3	61	20	22	23	25
12	1	2	2	3	62	20	22	24	25
13	1	2	3	3	63	20	23	24	26
14	1	2	3	4	64	21	23	24	26
15	2	3	3	4	65	21	24	25	27
16	2	3	4	5	66	22	24	25	27
17	2	4	4	5	67	22	25	26	28
18	3	4	5	6	68	22	25	26	28
19	3	4	5	6	69	23	25	27	29
20	3	5	5	6	70	23	26	27	29
21	4	5	6	7	71	24	26	28	30
22	4	5	6	7	72	24	27	28	30
23	4	6	7	8	73	25	27	28	31
24	5	6	7	8	74	25	28	29	31
25	5	7	7	9	75	25	28	29	32
26	6	7	8	9	76	26	28	30	32
27	6	7	8	10	77	26	29	30	32
28	6	8	9	10	78	27	29	31	33
29	7	8	9	10	79	27	30	31	33
30	7	9	10	11	80	28	30	32	34
31	7	9	10	11	81	28	31	32	34
32	8	9	10	12	82	28	31	33	35
33	8	10	11	12	83	29	32	33	35
34	9	10	11	13	84	29	32	33	36
35	9	11	12	13	85	30	32	34	36
36	9	11	12	14	86	30	33	34	37
37	10	12	13	14	87	31	33	35	37
38	10	12	13	14	88	31	34	35	38
39	11	12	13	15	89	31	34	36	38
40	11	13	14	15	90	32	35	36	39
41	11	13	14	16	91	32	35	37	39
42	12	14	15	16	92	33	36	37	39
43	12	14	15	17	93	33	36	38	40
44	13	15	16	17	94	34	37	38	40
45	13	15	16	18	95	34	37	38	41
46	13	15	16	18	96	34	37	39	41
47	14	16	17	19	97	35	38	39	42
48	14	16	17	19	98	35	38	40	42
49	15	17	18	19	99	36	39	40	43
50	15	17	18	20	100	36	39	41	43

For $n > 100$, approximate values of may be found by taking the nearest integer less than $\frac{1}{2}n - k\sqrt{n}$, where k=1.3,1,.82,.58 for the 1,5,10, 25% values respectively. A closer approximation to the values of is obtained from $\frac{1}{2}(n-1) - k\sqrt{n+1}$ and the more exact values of k, 1.2879, .9800, .8224, .5752.

show that the efficiency of the sign test declines from about 95 per cent where N equals six to 62 per cent for very large samples, i.e., that if the t test were used where N equals six it would be just as effective as the sign test with 5 per cent fewer comparisons. This brief discussion of the power and effectiveness of the sign test is to indicate that its use should be limited to those situations where a more effective test cannot be applied. This use of the sign test in elaboration by partial association is such a situation. A very brief outline of the partialing technique is necessary in order to explain the particular application of the sign test used in this study.[29]

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[29] The partial association technique was origninally set forth by Yule and Kendall, An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics, London, 1937, Chapter IV. For a recent and more detailed description of the technique, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation," The Language of Social Research, Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 115-125; or Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, Part III.

The elaboration by partial association technique begins with the observation of an initial relationship between two variables. This relationship involves the dependent variable and an independent variable and is referred to as the "zero order" of partial association. Elaboration of the relationship occurs when a third variable is introduced as a test variable or control factor. This stage is referred to as the "first order" of partial association. Subjects on which observations were made for the relationship between the original dependent and independent variables are now arranged into two or more subgroups which are homogeneous with respect to the third or test variable, The selection of the categories of the test variable depends upon the nature of the problem and the type of data. For the sake of simplicity, suppose that subjects are divided into only two subgroups which are more or less homogeneous with respect to the test factor. The original relationship then is examined within each of the subgroups to see if the relationship still obtains. If the relationship is diminished or changes direction, then it must be examined to see whether it must be considered a spurious relationship. If, on the other hand, the relationship is unaffected by the control introduced by the test variable in either of the two subgroups, then it is deemed worthy of further test. It can be seen that partial association analysis can include one, two, three, four, or "n" test variables and that these are referred to as the first, second, third, fourth or Nth orders of partial association respectively.

It is important with respect to the statistical application under discussion to note that each of the homogeneous subgroups created by the introduction of partial orders is viewed from a methodological standpoint as an independent replication of an experiment to determine if there is a relationship between the original dependent and independent variables when one or more test variables are introduced as controls. This procedure is similar to the controlled laboratory experiment with at least two important limitations: the controls are obtained _ex post facto_ and practical limitations on sample size make it impossible to control more than a few of the relevant variables; the tests of the hypothesis within each of the various homogeneous subgroups are treated as if each was a replication of the basic experiment to see if the predicted relationship holds, though this assumption may be invalid.

Since it is impossible to control all of the relevant variables from a practical standpoint, it is quite possible that chance factors may influence the quality of the relationship. Some statistical evaluation of the relationship is necessary to determine whether or not a statistically significant relationship exists between the dependent and independent variables when other selected variables are controlled. Conventional tests which could be used include Pearsonian r, or, if the distributions of the two variables are not normal, the chi square test. However, the distributions are not always normal and it is also an unfortunate concomitant of partial association by several variables that the N's within the homogeneous subgroups are drastically diminished. It is in this types of analysis when a number of variables are instituted as controls and the expected frequencies within the chi square cells are small, that the sign test seems useful. The application of the sign test in this instance will be discussed next.

The ordinary use of the sign test is to see if the difference between two groups is statistically significant. It seems reasonable, however, to also use the sign test to determine whether or not two variables are independent. In the traditional use of the test, the experimental and control (or before and after) halves of "n" pairs are examined to see if there is some consistent direction that can be observed with respect to the differences between the halves. The distribution of plus to minus signs is compared to what could be expected by chance and if that distribution could be expected to occur less than one out of twenty or out of a hundred times by chance, then the difference is said to be statistically significant. Let this situation be compared with the kind of situation which occurs when subjects are divided into "n" homogeneous subgroups by the partial association technique. In the partial situation, there are "n" comparisons between two variables. Within each homogeneous subgroup, the relationship between the two variables can be assigned a plus or a minus with respect to whether or not it is a positive or a negative relationship. This situation is like the traditional situation in that only the direction of the relationship is observed and the size of the relationship within each subgroup is ignored. The distribution of the directions of the relationship in "n" subgroups is then examined to see if such a distribution could be expected to occur by chance. Since the direction of the relationship in each subgroup is expressed as either plus or minus the tables based on binomial expansion are applicable. The two variables are assumed to be independent if the distribution of plus to minus signs could be expected to occur more than one out of twenty or one out of one hundred times by chance. If, on the other hand, there are too few plus signs or too few signs with respect to chance expectation, then the null hypothesis with respect to the relationship between the two variables must be rejected. The procedure which has just been outlined seems similar to that employed by Samuel A. Stouffer and Leland C. DeVinney.[30]

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[30] Samuel A. Stouffer and Leland C. DeVinney, "Who Were the Most Critical of the Army's Promotion Opportunities?" The Language of Social Research, Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955) p. 572, footnote 3.

Summary

A major object in the design of this study is to close the gap between what is known and what is asserted about adolescent value orientations in American Society. This is done in part by providing a description of certain values and behaviors for a population of adolescents residing in the Nashville, Tennessee Standard Metropolitan Area. The study also is designed to explore hypotheses with respect to adolescent conformity with school norms. Finally the study explores certain hypotheses about the relation of personal and social controls to the prevalence of delinquency and the genesis of delinquent behavior.

The study population consists of all boys and girls in grades 7 through 12 of the private, public and parochial schools of Davidson County, Tennessee who took the questionnaire at the time it was administered in each school. A random sample of 158 boys also was drawn and studied more intensively.

This sample was included in a larger stratified sample of Conforming, Poorly Motivated, School Behavior Problem and Troublemaker boys who with their two closest friends were selected for more intensive study. All school boys with an official record of delinquency at the Davidson County Juvenile Court and all who were brought to the Court from December 1, 1957 to February 28, 1958, and their two closest friends, likewise were interviewed. Finally we interviewed a small number of middle class troublemakers and hyperconformers who were not included in our sample.

The structure of the questionnaire, schedule and interview and their administration are discussed. Some attention is given to problems of validity and reliability of questionnaire responses. Finally, there is a brief discussion of problems of intensity measurement in attitude measurement followed by a discussion of tests of significance used in testing hypotheses in the study.

Chapter III

Adolescent Orientations Toward Cultural Goals and Institutionalized Means for Reaching Them

One way in which sociologists view human behavior is to see it as motivated toward goals or ends of action. These ends of action are elements of the culture so that we can study variation in the acceptance of them. Many of them are prescribed goals: you must behave in this way and if you do not the strongest negative sanctions will be applied to your conduct. Others are preferred goals: you ought to or, you should behave in this way, and we will devalue your behavior if you do not act in this preferred way. Still other goals are more permissive in nature: you may do this if you wish. Many actions also are proscribed: you should not do this and, if you do, we will apply strong negative sanctions to make you conform or, they are prohibited: you cannot or must not do this and, if you do, we will act to exclude you from the society. There is still another kind of goal orientation in some, if not all, societies and this is the prerogative goal: a right which individuals exercise to the exclusion of all other rights and conformity to it brings the highest positive sanctions.

These normative goals may be illustrated by examples for adolescents in our society. It is a prescribed form of behavior that adolescents must attend school until they reach a legal age at which they may exercise the permissive norm to quit. Strong sanctions are ultimately applied for failure to conform to the compulsory norm of school attendance, including those of removing the child from the community to an institution for delinquent and/or truant children. It is a preferred form of behavior for adolescents to strive for "good grades" in school and the sanctions of failing grades, retardation and so on are applied if the adolescent does not strive to get good grades. So far as the school is concerned there also are relatively permissive norms in respect to participation in some extracurricular activities, e.g. athletic competition, though the adolescents themselves may treat them as preferred forms of behavior. Some forms of behavior are proscribed, as for example smoking or drinking alcohol in school or purchasing alcoholic beverages in the community prior to reaching the legal age to do so. Other actions are clearly prohibited for all subgroups in the society such as the attack on life or rape and the strongest sanctions of exclusion are applied for these acts of deviation. Heroism is a form of prerogative behavior for adolescents as it is for adults in our society. In this chapter, adolescents orientations toward the major goals of the school and the community are described. Variation in the acceptance of these cultural goals is examined.

To reach cultural goals means must be chosen appropriate to reaching them. In many cases it is hard to distinguish means from goals since a goal may become a means to other goals in a concrete situation. Thus an adolescent may select a college education as a goal but this goal also is a means to an occupational goal which also has been selected. The culture likewise specifies these means and some are prescribed, others preferred and, so on. For example, an education is a prescribed means for certain jobs in our society. The choice of educational means therefore is specified by institutionalized norms and both positive and negative sanctions regulate the selection of these means. Adolescent orientations toward certain "legitimate" and "illegitimate" means to ends in our society are described in this chapter and subgroup variation in them explored.

The analysis of adolescent orientations toward cultural goals and institutionalized means in this chapter in most cases is limited to an examination of race and sex subgroup variation and in some cases variation also is examined by school context and ascribed socioeconomic status as well. This variation however in most cases is described for the zero order level of association so that we do not know whether the original relationship will persist for all race-sex-ascribed socioeconomic status-school context-etc. subgroups i.e., the higher orders of partial association. In later chapters some of these orientations are described at higher orders of partial association to learn whether they characterize all or only some adolescent subgroups in our society. For example, high but not low socioeconomic status white boys may accept a given institutionalized means or cultural goal.

The analysis also is relatively gross in the sense that only very large differences among adolescent subgroups or those cases where almost no differences exist are described here. The reason for this is that interest is particularly focused on those cases where there is either very high or very low consensus in respect to the cultural goals or institutionalized means. By doing this some of the subgroup variation in cultural goals or institutionalized means is ignored.

Cultural Success Goals

Merton concludes that contemporary American culture places great emphasis upon certain cultural success goals without an equivalent emphasis on institutionalized means.[1] This difference in emphasis leads to some individuals in the society experiencing strain in making choices about means. Consequently deviating behavior results. This great cultural emphasis on success forces most persons in our society to ceaselessly strive toward success goals and to "fail to accept failure." Since the cultural goal is more important than the institutionalized means, under some circumstances illegitimate means are used to reach ends. This "illegitimate" means from the perspective of the larger culture may in fact be institutionalized legitimate means for some population subgroups. Furthermore, on the average there should be greater consensus on the goals of success than on the means to be used to be successful.

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[1] Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie" in Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957 Revised and Enlarged edition, p. 136. The following discussion draws heavily on this essay and on "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie," Chapter V.

The general success ideology of adolescents and the degree to which they express a willingness to accept legitimate and illegitimate means toward the goals of success are described first. A major success goal in American Society is that of making money. Success is measured to a substantial degree by how much money one makes. For young people in our society this requires that one make as much or more money than one's father. To make less money is to accept failure. To what extent do adolescents accept the success goal that they will be satisfied if they make at least as much money as their father? While this question was asked both of boys and girls, it perhaps is less salient for girls than boys. For girls in the long run it is more likely to mean, will I be satisfied if my husband makes the same amount of money as my father? There generally is only a small sex difference in expressing a willingness to be satisfied if one makes the same amount of money as one's father. Girls are somewhat more likely than boys to say they will be satisfied with the same amount of money as their father.

A substantial proportion of all white boys express the opinion that they will be satisfied if they make the same amount of money as their father--60 per cent. But there is considerable variation by the age of boys. The younger the boy the more likely he is to say he will be satisfied. While 74 per cent of the white boys age 10 to 13 say they will be so satisfied, it falls to only 46 per cent of all white boys age 16 and over. This relationship is independent of the ascribed socioeconomic social status of white boys as the following tabulation shows:

Socioeconomic Status	Race and Age							
	White				Negro			
	10-13	14-15	16 & Over	Total	10-13	14-15	16 & Over	Total
High	77	67	48	63	67	49	37	49
Middle	73	61	44	58	69	54	64	60
Low	74	60	46	59	53	55	40	49
Total	74	62	46	60	59	53	45	52

By age 16, then, less than one-half of all white boys say they will be satisfied if they make the same amount of money as father. From what we know from studies of some subgroups in the young adult population, this proportion will fall even further before perhaps rising again. Among Negro boys there also is a steady decline with age in the willingness to accept this cultural success goal so that the same proportion of Negro as white boys age 16 and over are unwilling to make simply as much money as their father. But at the youngest age level, proportionately fewer of the Negro than of the white boys agree that they will be satisfied if they make the same amount of money as their father. This is not surprising since Negro society generally decries the fact that Negroes on the average make less than a comparable person in white society. There is stronger cultural pressure therefore at all times to do better than the father so that the cultural goal is more salient for young Negro than young white boys.

The older one gets then in our society, the more salient it is for a boy to make money and the older one gets the more one accepts as a norm that one should make more money than one's father since almost no boy wishes to make less. The American success ideology then progressively leads adolescent boys toward accepting the cultural goal: to be successful you must make more money than your father. This success goal has as a consequence the generation of cultural pressure toward upward mobility, at least so far as making more money than one's father is a measure of upward social mobility orientations.

Some caution needs to be exercised in accepting the figures of the age 16 and over population as a reliable indicator of the per cent of those adolescents wanting to make more money than the father since this age group in school is decimated by dropout. It is doubtful whether the relationship would change however if all adolescents were included since there is a substantial decline from the 10 to 13 to the 14 and 15 year old age group.

It is surprising that there is so very little ascribed socioeconomic status variation in the willingness to accept the same amount of money as the father as a success goal, at least for white boys. There is almost no ascribed status variation for white boys in the proportion willing to earn the same amount of money as father. This reenforces the idea that among white boys at least we are dealing with a cultural goal which becomes more salient as one gets older. Regardless of status, one is more likely to want to make more money than one's father as one begins to reach the point where one makes a career choice or enters the labor force. For Negroes, the relationship is less clear. By age 16 and over there is very little difference between high and low status Negro boys but middle status Negro boys seem more willing to be satisfied to make the same amount of money as father. It is possible that this represents a real and important difference. These boys from the lower middle status subgroup of urban Negro society come from families which have made substantial mobility strides during the present generation. There may be a strain toward conservatism among this group--a strong desire to conserve these gains may lead one to be satisfied with the father's success goal.

Although making money is a major success goal in American Society, there is some ambivalence attached to accepting it as a goal because of other consequences attached to accepting it. Protestant religious ideology, particularly that of Calvinism, emphasizes the consequence: "It is harder for a rich man to get to heaven than a poor one." While one wants to make money, there may be difficulties attached to getting "rich." What is rich of course may vary with how much money one makes or is able to make. Despite this difficulty in deciding what is meant by "rich," about 40 per cent of our boys and girls agree that "it is harder for a rich man to get to heaven than a poor one." Proportionally, fewer of the girls than of the boys agree with the statement but, boys from high status families are least likely to agree with it. Only 21 per cent of the boys in the highest status school agree, "it is harder for a rich man to get to heaven than a poor one." The closer one comes to being "rich" the less likely one is to agree with the statement.

The major success goal our society holds forth for adolescents is that of getting an education. The elementary and secondary schools are after all specialized organizations contrived from special institutions for adolescents. Schools are designed also to serve to give one means to ends--to socialize adolescents to take their place in adult society. Education is thus an end in itself and a means to ends. No other institutional organization is as pervasive for adolescents in our society. This does not mean that there are no adolescent subcultures in American society--subcultures which place other values above those of getting an education, as for example a subculture which values athletic competition above that of getting an education. But the educational context is fundamentally decreed the more pervasive one with long run consequences for the adolescent.

Adolescents on the whole accept the success goals of education in our society. Seventy per cent of all adolescents agreed that "Schooling is the most important thing in life for me" and only 15 per cent felt that "Schooling is less important to me than most things." Not all adolescents held these attitudes with equal intensity, however. Furthermore boys are less likely (67 per cent) than girls (73 per cent) to agree that schooling is the most important thing in life for them and whites (67 per cent) are less likely than Negroes (88 per cent) and blue collars (71 per cent) somewhat more likely than white collars (67 per cent) to agree with the value of schooling. Correlatively boys are more likely than girls to agree that schooling is less important to them than most things. Even more to the point, 87 per cent of white boys and 93 per cent of white girls and of Negro boys and girls agree that "You should keep on going to school even if you don't get very good grades." Thus while girls are more likely than boys, Negroes than whites and blue collars more than white collars to value schooling as the most important thing in life to them; schooling nonetheless is an important value to most adolescents.

Yet, a sizeable minority of adolescents "reject" the school in some form or another. Forty-four per cent of all white boys and 26 per cent of all white girls agree that: "The rules are too strict about coming to school." And about 35 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls agree "I don't like to go to school." A sizeable minority too say they want to quit school--twice as many boys (19 per cent) as girls (9 per cent) want to quit school "right now" and an additional 23 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls agree that "most of the time I want to quit school." Also, 11 per cent of the boys and 5 per cent of the girls feel that they want to quit school as "I feel forced to go."

The alternative goal to that of going to school is that of getting a full time job. Roughly 18 per cent of our adolescents want to quit school and go to work; this is about the same proportion for whites and Negroes but proportionally speaking, more of the boys (22 per cent) than of the girls (14 per cent) accept the alternative goal of a job. There also is considerable variation by the ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent with 22 per cent of the blue collars and only 11 per cent of the white collars wanting to quit school and go to work. Thus for a substantial majority of adolescents, compulsory school attendance and child labor laws appear as unduly restrictive. They want to pursue the goal of their choice and get a full time job rather than continue their education, the goal which society sets forth for them.

Dislike of school apparently is to some degree related to failure, as 11 per cent of the boys but only 5 per cent of white girls want to quit school as they are always failing. For this minority, continued failure in school reduces the salience of getting an education and their desire to continue in school.

Going to college is the valued amount of schooling for a large segment of American Society. A college education is generally associated with success and making money, particularly if it is a professional education. We sought to learn to what extent our adolescent population felt that "most people ought to go to college." While this question was asked only of the city population, 55 per cent of all these adolescents believe "most people ought to go to college." Proportionately more of the boys (52 per cent) than of the girls (41 per cent) believe most people ought to go to college and more of the Negroes (52 per cent) than of the whites (44 per cent) and of white collars (57 per cent) than of blue collars (42 per cent). These differences reflect two things, the relatively higher valuation which Negroes place on schooling as contrasted with whites and, the fact that one's position in the social structure strongly determines one's estimate of how much education "most people" ought to get. Those adolescents most likely on the average to go to college are also most likely to hold the norm that most people in our society ought to go to college.

Adolescent orientations toward a college education as a success goal (or as a means to other success ends) can be seen by examining their own aspirations and their parents expectations for educational attainment. Almost half of all adolescents saw their mother as expecting them to go to college. More of the boys (53 per cent) than of the girls (45 per cent), of whites (49 per cent) than of Negroes (42 per cent) and of white collars (70 per cent) than of blue collars (35 per cent) saw their mother as wanting them to go to college. A white-collar, white boy (76 per cent) is most likely to see his mother as wanting him to go to college and a blue-collar white girl (31 per cent) is least likely. The same relative differences hold for subject's aspiration except that aspirations are on the average somewhat higher for Negro boys than for other race-sex groups. It is obvious that even with the trend toward a majority of high school graduates entering college, the proportion of adolescents with college aspirations far outweighs the opportunities for attainment. Aspirations nonetheless reflect the strong cultural emphasis placed on getting a college education.

Adolescents in our society not only place a high valuation on personally getting a college education but they also place considerable emphasis on a college education as the major success goal for a majority of the population. There is variation in these valuations according to the social position of the adolescent. The two major population subgroups which face the greatest status dilemma in our society--women and Negroes--are most firmly committed to the value of getting an education and their mothers are seen as supporting their aspirations. It is not surprising that Negroes are more committed to positively value education than are whites in American society. An education is their major avenue to social mobility and, particularly for southern Negroes, the school now is the "battleground" on which the "fight" over the issue of equality of status is carried on. For women too, an education appears to expand the opportunities for upward social mobility--social equality for themselves and upward social mobility for their children. Historically in American Society, education has been an important means for lower status subgroups to achieve higher prestige and status since education has made possible the mobility of persons with these subgroup characteristics. When large numbers of individuals of a population subgroup have enhanced their social status through education, among other means, the prestige position of their subgroup has changed to that of a higher rank. For women and for Negroes, education continues to be a major weapon in their "stand for equality." Small wonder then that they value it highly as a success goal and as a means to other goals. Yet they also are realistic about their aspirations for their attainment. Despite the high value most girls place on getting a "good" education, they are less likely on the average to choose it as a goal for themselves than are boys. The same discontinuity is observed for Negores compared with whites. This finding also is not surprising for the opportunity structure in our society still favors education for whites and boys, and most of course, for the white boy. So despite the somewhat lower valuation which white boys on the average place on schooling and the success goals of education, a larger proportion of them personally aspire to the highest educational attainment levels, levels of attainment which are most accessible to them. "Discrimination" works in their favor.

A major success goal of adult Americans is a "good" job. In a changing society, men are known by their occupations and success is known to others as much (if not more) by what one does than by how well one does it. Education is an important determinant of what kind of occupation a man enters or the kind of job he takes. The occupation in turn is an important factor in the amount of income a man can make. The "choice" of an occupation therefore becomes a task of young Americans even though most end up by having relatively little "free choice." Other decisions one makes or which are made for them, e.g., the choice of how much education to get, coupled with the opportunities open to persons of a given set of social characteristics, e.g., racial restrictions on employment or education, closes many of the avenues of choice, as will ultimately employers. Despite these many structural limitations on one's life chances to prepare for a job, the opportunities to get one, and barriers to movement after entering a job, most American youths approaching high school graduation increasingly talk of their vocational aspirations. Parents too make career or job choices for their children and these choices are one measure of success which the child is expected to attain. To learn more about adolescent perceptions of these success goals, each adolescent was asked what vocational expectations mother had for him and what aspirations he held for himself.

It is interesting to note first of all that there are subgroup differences in choice of an occupational goal within the adolescent population. Only about seven per cent of all girls, for example, chose "housewife" as an occupational goal. Most girls gave an occupational choice other than that of housewife. This fact should not be interpreted to mean that most girls do not have "housewife" as one of their goals but rather it probably means that most girls choose an alternate success goal as well. The cultural values of choosing "women's occupations" predominate in their choices however. For example, only 16 per cent of all white boys chose sales and clerical work occupations, yet these occupations were chosen by 41 per cent of all girls who made occupational choices. To our surprise, this difference did not prevail for Negro girls, but since the data on occupational aspirations are for the county school population only (where the proportion of Negroes to whites is quite low) we are reluctant to conclude this would be true for the general population as a whole. The other major occupation group which women choose in large numbers is that of the professional and semi-professional occupations (teachers, nurses and professional technicians);

53 per cent of all white and 67 per cent of all Negro girls chose within this major occupation group. These figures are to be compared with 64 per cent of all white and 50 per cent of all Negro boys. None of the Negro girls and almost none of the white girls chose managerial, proprietary and official occupations but these occupations also are infrequently chosen by white boys (3.2 per cent) and, Negro boys choose it even less frequently (0.7 per cent) than white boys. Adding to these jobs those of salesmen (which in these tabulations unfortunately is confounded with that of clerical, though for boys, clericals is the smaller percentage in the combined sales and clerical workers percentage) which is 16.1 per cent for white boys and 18 per cent for Negro boys, fewer than 20 per cent of all boys select "business occupations." The actual percentage probably is somewhat closer to 12 to 15 per cent of all boys if clerical occupations are excluded. Only a relatively small proportion of all boys then appear oriented toward the traditional "capitalistic" or business occupations in the selection of their occupational goal. Furthermore if only the proprietary and managerial jobs are thought of as the major success goal of the "capitalist" or entrepreneur, then only a very small percentage of adolescent boys select such occupations before they enter the labor force. As examination of Tables III-1 and 2 show in fact, about 16 per cent of all 1950 white employed males in Davidson County were classified as either managers, officials or proprietors (14.4 per cent) or farmers and farm managers (1.9 per cent). Yet only three per cent of the white boys (and their mothers) aspired to these occupations. Furthermore, proportionately fewer of the mothers held expectations for their sons and proportionately fewer of the sons aspired to the sales and clerical occupations than there were white employed males in these occupations in 1950.

The business occupations and particularly those of capitalist entrepreneurship then are very "weak images" to boys in the American schools at least in

TABLE III-1: -- MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED MALES, BY RACE, FOR DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE: 1950

Occupation of Employed Males	Nonwhites		Whites	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	15092	100.0	67103	100.0
Professional, tech. & kindred	654	4.3	6569	9.8
Farmers and farm managers	118	0.8	1279	1.9
Mgrs., off. & props., except farm	458	3.0	9638	14.4
Clerical & kindred workers	399	2.6	6429	9.6
Sales workers	223	1.5	7091	10.6
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred	1681	11.2	16017	23.8
Operatives & kindred	3093	20.5	13443	20.0
Pvt. household workers	463	3.1	50	0.1
Service workers, except farm	3756	24.9	2954	4.4
Farm laborers	260	1.7	816	1.2
Laborers, except farm	3987	26.4	2817	4.2

Source: U.S. Census of the Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 42, Tennessee, USGPO, 1952, Tables 43 and 44.

TABLE III-2: -- PER CENT DISTRIBUTION FOR MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF COUNTY EMPLOYED MALES AND FOR OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF COUNTY SCHOOL BOYS: WHITES ONLY

Major Occupation Group	1950 County Employed Males	Boy's Aspirations	Mother's Expectations
Professional, tech. & kindred	10	57	61
Managers, officials & proprietors[1]	16	3	3
Sales, clerical & kindred	20	12	15
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred	24	13	13
Operatives, service & laborers	30	15	8
Total	100	100	100
Index of dissimilarity		47	51

[1] Includes farmers and farm managers.

making their selections before they leave high school. Even boys from white-collar families, as seen in Table III-3, are very unlikely to choose managerial, official and proprietary occupations. An even smaller proportion of the combined managerial, official and proprietary occupation group in fact actually were oriented toward proprietorship. There are perhaps many reasons for this relative absence of selection from business occupations. From a reality perspective, boys may find it difficult to conceive of themselves as entering these occupations since capital requirements for them are generally large. It would seem that the more important reason however is that most American boys today do not associate making money with entrepreneurship but rather with making a living in the professions. The professions are the success goal which the majority of American boys and their mothers select although, proportionally fewer of the blue- than of the white-collar boys choose the professions (See Table III-3). Negro boys are quite unlikely to choose the managerial, official, and proprietary occupations despite the fact that three per cent of all Negro males in Davidson County held such jobs in 1950. Again, while it may be argued that it is extremely difficult for Negroes to acquire the capital necessary to entrepreneurship or to enter the business occupations of manager and salesworker, still Negro boys underchoose these occupations relative to the opportunity structure for Negroes in Davidson County. On the other hand boys overchoose professions relative to the opportunity structure for professional aspirations. In 1950 in fact, only about 10 per cent of all jobs for white employed males and 4 per cent for Negroes were professional technical and kindred worker jobs. Over five times as many white boys and 10 times as many Negro boys wanted the professions as an occupational destination however. Boys correlatively underchoose manual occupations relative to the opportunities for these jobs in Davidson County and the urban United States.

TABLE III-3: — PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER'S EXPECTATION AND SON'S ASPIRATION FOR AN OCCUPATIONAL GOAL, BY ASCRIBED SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: WHITE MALES

Socioeconomic Status and Expectation or Aspiration	Major Occupation Group							
	Total	Operatives, Service & Laborers	Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred	Sales, Clerical & Kindred	Managers, Officials & Proprietors	Semi-professionals	Professional Only	Index of Dissimilarity
Total								18
Mother's Expectation	100.0	8	13	15	3	9	52	
Son's Aspiration	100.0	15	13	12	3	20	37	
White Collars								15
Mother's Expectation	100.0	2	9	17	4	9	59	
Son's Aspiration	100.0	6	8	14	5	17	50	
Blue Collars								24
Mother's Expectation	100.0	13	16	14	2	9	46	
Son's Aspiration	100.0	23	17	10	2	22	26	

Assuming that the occupational opportunity structure for boys in our sample will not be too different from that for all employed males in 1950, we can ask ourselves, how many of these boys on the average will need to change occupational aspiration to fit into the 1950 occupational opportunity structure? On the average, about 47 per cent of them will have to change aspiration. This is shown by an index of dissimilarity of 47 per cent--the amount of change in aspiration which must occur to make the occupational distribution of boys' aspirations like that for the 1950 employed males in Davidson County in 1950 (See Table III-2). Yet, mothers of white boys are somewhat less "realistic" in their expectations for their sons as Table III-2 discloses on examination; the index of dissimilarity is 51 per cent for the occupational distribution of mother's expectations compared with the 1950 structure for employed white males in Davidson County.

Mothers' expectations for their sons are further compared with sons' aspirations in Table III-3. Mothers in general hold somewhat higher professional goals for their sons. In this sense they are "less realistic" in their appraisal of the opportunities for professional careers for their sons than are the sons. Within the white-collar occupations mothers choose professional goals proportionally more often for their sons than sons do for themselves but within the blue-collar occupations they are almost twice as likely to hold professional goals for their sons. Both white- and blue-collar boys more often choose semi-professional occupations as an occupational goal than mothers set these goals for sons. This is largely due to the fact that boys choose several kinds of semi-professional occupational goals which mothers seldom choose for them, viz., that of professional athlete or musician, professional soldiering, and airline pilot. Both white- and blue-collar boys more often aspire to the lower prestige blue-collar occupations than are mothers to hold such expectations for their sons.

The occupational expectations mothers hold for their sons are closer to the aspirations of sons for white-collar than blue-collar boys. The index of dissimilarity between the occupational structure for mother's expectations and for son's aspirations is 15 per cent for white-collar boys but 24 per cent for blue-collar boys. Interpreting this as a generational difference in mobility aspirations we would say that on the average blue-collar mothers are more likely to want their sons to be upwardly mobile than are white-collar mothers.

To summarize then, the major occupational success goals for adolescents in American Society are in the professional rather than the business occupations. Interviews disclose adolescents choose the professions because they think they would like professional work and feel they can make money in them. The business ideology enters very little into their occupational choices--so little in fact that it would be impossible to maintain the business occupations if they possibly could follow their choices. That adolescents carry these choices into college is well known. What is also the case is that a large proportion of male students in a liberal arts college enter as pre-professional students though many of them shift to a commerce or business administration curriculum when their professional goal is "blocked," either because they cannot satisfactorily meet the pre-professional standards of achievement, because they cannot find the opportunity or afford a professional education or parental pressures force them to change. Many too change their specific goal as they acquire more knowledge about the variety of professional opportunities open to them.

The courtship activity is generally first associated with adolescence in American society though there is some evidence that it is entering the pre-adolescent world as well. The major goals of activity in the courtship process are the "date" and "marriage" at least so far as culturally prescribed goals are concerned. Adolescent courtship is generally thought of as being limited to "dating" with marriage lying beyond the period and being one of the goals defining adult status. Many school systems therefore prohibit student marriage. If the student wishes to continue his or her education, marriage must be postponed. The public school system for the adolescents in this study required the approval of the school superintendent before the marriage took place if the student wished to continue in school. Failure to secure his approval automatically led to expulsion from attendance in the public school system. The private and parochial schools similarly discouraged marriage. Marriage constitutes a sufficient reason for legal withdrawl from school prior to reaching the legal age to withdraw. Parents and school officials generally strongly discourage marriage of high school students and the legal norms regarding marriage require parental approval to be licensed before the age of 17. In contrast, dating is positively sanctioned, particularly among older adolescents.

While almost all adolescents date at least once before they leave school, the proportion which date "pretty often" is much lower. If we take as a measure of active involvement in the courtship process, dating "pretty often" about two-thirds of the white senior high boys and about 7 out of every 10 white senior high girls are actively involved in the courtship process since they say they date pretty often. Among junior high white boys and girls, the proportions are much smaller--only about one half of the boys and closer to one-third of the girls. There is an interesting sex difference by age. Older girls date more than older boys while younger girls date less often than younger boys. This goes counter to the generally held view that boys date younger rather than older girls. The older girls probably date more often than older boys in high school because more are dating someone who is older and not in school. But younger boys on the average must be dating older girls. The rates for dating pretty often are lower for Negroes than whites and boys tend to date more often at both the older and younger age levels.

In the upper and upper middle status schools, one finds the highest proportion of students saying they date pretty often--at least 7 of every 10 boys and girls in these senior high schools date pretty often. Younger boys and girls in the lower status (and rural nonfarm) schools generally report the lowest relative frequency of date "pretty often." Age is of greater importance than ascribed status in variation in dating pretty often. This can easily be seen for example when the rate for a junior and a senior high school in the same school district are compared. By way of illustration, in a single school district the rate for the senior high school was 54 per cent of the boys and 62 per cent of the girls, it was 27 per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls for the junior high school. Or, to illustrate with another senior-junior high school comparison, 64 per cent of the boys and 71 per cent of the girls in the senior high school compared with 34 per cent of the boys and 26 per cent of the girls date pretty often. Note that the age difference in these comparisons is greater for girls than boys, as pointed out above.

There are a large number of norms governing the courtship process during the adolescent period. Since this aspect of adolescent peer society has been explored in some detail in the literature, we chose to give less attention to it in this study than to other normative areas. A few norms about courtship and marriage were examined however because of the relevance they might have to deviating behavior in the school and community. The first of these norms deals with the right of adolescents to marry when in school and with or without parents approval. The second norm concerns the right of adolescents to date without the necessity of securing the approval of others.

Turning first to the item: "Young people should be allowed to get married while going to high school", it must be noted that this is a permissive statement of the norm. For this reason it is relatively the weakest statement one can accept in treating it as a "cultural" goal. This is a far cry from what would be a prescribed form of statement: "Young people must get married while going to high school." Yet, only a little more than 15 per cent of all boys and girls agree that young people should be permitted to get married while going to high school. There is an age variation as one might expect. In Table III-4 it can be seen that twice as many of the adolescents age 16 and over as of those age 10 to 13 agree that one should be allowed to get married while going to high school. Table III-4 also has data to show that there is almost no race or sex variation in agreement with the statement but that there is some variation by socioeconomic status. More of the low that of the high socioeconomic status adolescents agree with the permissive statement of the conduct. Still, it is a minority of adolescents who agree with the statement that young people should be allowed to "get married while going to high school"--21 per cent of boys and girls age 16 and over. There is very little strong normative support among adolescents for marriage while going to high school. We suspected this would be the case since it is our belief that widespread marriage among high school students will tend to destroy both the cultural and the social system of the high school which American adolescents have constructed. The married person "does not fit in." Yet as Table III-5 discloses on examination, low status, older white girls are most likely to agree with the norm (they have the lowest average age at marriage). We shall see also in Chapter 4 that this subgroup of girls has the highest dropout from school rate of any age, race, sex, socioeconomic status subgroup. We also know that the reason most of these girls give fordropping out is to get married.

Marriage still is a matter for parental approval, at least so far as we are justified in reaching such a conclusion from adolescent verbalizations.

TABLE III-4: -- PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS AGREEING WITH THREE PERMISSIVE NORMS RELATING TO COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR, BY RACE, SEX, AGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Do you think young people should be allowed to do any of the following now:	All Cases	Race		Sex		Age			Socioeconomic Status		
		White	Negro	Male	Female	10 to 13	14 to 15	16 & Over	Low	Middle	High
Get married while going to high school	15	16	14	15	16	10	14	21	17	15	12
Marry without parents approval	8	9	6	11	6	7	8	9	8	8	7
Date whom you want to	54	55	48	64	44	47	54	61	53	55	55

TABLE III-5: -- PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS AGREEING WITH PERMISSIVE NORMS RELATING TO COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR, FOR RACE, SEX, AGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC ASCRIBED STATUS SUBGROUPS

Socioeconomic Status or/and Age for: "Young people should be allowed to:"	Race and Sex			
	Whites		Negroes	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
"Get married while going to high school"				
Age 10 to 13				
High	5	6	10	7
Middle	14	7	9	10
Low	13	11	14	11
Age 14 to 15				
High	10	11	0	10
Middle	14	15	8	15
Low	14	18	8	18
Age 16 & Over				
High	17	20	15	24
Middle	18	25	13	31
Low	21	28	11	20
"Marry without their parents approval"				
10 - 13	9	4	10	4
14 - 15	10	6	6	5
16 & Over	13	7	6	4
"Date whom you want to"				
10 - 13	57	47	41	32
14 - 15	66	55	43	43
16 & Over	73	65	47	49

Only eight per cent of all adolescents felt that young people should be allowed to marry without parents approval. As examination of Tables III-4 and 5 show, there is little variation by age and socioeconomic status in the proportion agreeing with this statement. But, almost twice as many boys as girls agree that marriage should be allowed without parental approval. At that the proportion agreeing rises to only 12 per cent of all boys. Somewhat more of the whites than of the Negroes apparently would accept marriage (at least in others) without parental approval.

Marriage then is largely a matter which lies outside the adolescent peer society. It is an act for which parental approval should be received and one which is to take place after leaving high school. Dating is a matter of adolescent concern however. And a majority of all adolescents favor a policy of non-interference in the selection of their dating partner--54 per cent of all adolescents felt young people should be allowed to "date whom you want to." Examination of the subgroup distributions in Table III-4 discloses that proportionally more of whites than of Negroes, of boys than of girls and of older than younger adolescents feel they should be allowed to date whom they want to but, there are no socioeconomic status differences. Apparently higher status boys and girls are no more or less likely than lower status ones to feel that they should be allowed to date whom they want to. From these zero order relationships, one would expect that white boys 16 years old and over would be most likely to agree that they should be allowed to "date whom you want to." This is the case as examination of the distribution by age for race-sex groups in Table III-5 shows that about 7 of every 10 boys agree with the statement. Correlatively one would expect that young Negro girls would be least likely to agree they should be allowed to date whom they want to, and this is the case in Table III-5. Nonetheless sex appears more important than age in explaining variation in accepting the norm. Interestingly enough, the proportion of adolescents agreeing that one should be allowed to date whom one wants to is about the same as the proportion who date "pretty often." Further exploration might be undertaken to learn whether it is primarily these adolescents who believe they ought to be allowed to date whom they want to or whether the norm may be more salient for those who do not date pretty often and in fact fail to do so because they are denied the right to choose as "they want to."

A frequent source of conflict between parents and children is the control of how the child is to spend the evening hours, particularly on "school nights." In the middle status home, frequently great emphasis is placed on studying at home at night and, the teachers in middle status schools take great pride in assigning homework. This is much less true in the lower status school so far as the behavior of both parents and teachers are concerned. Schools sponsor certain evening occasions to which students are expected to come--athletic contests, dances, carnivals, and money raising ventures. These are sometimes sponsored on "school nights." A number of schools in our study run "teen towns" on Thursday night and many of them held athletic contests on nights when school was held the following day. The peer group also establishes its round of activities and there is much pressure put upon parents, particularly by the middle status boy or girl, to spend all or part of an evening with friends--to study, listen to records, go to the drive-in, date, run-around, and so on. Among lower status boys there are the evenings of the "street-corner society" and "knocking around" in the automobile is routine. Whether one is driving around looking for "pick-ups," "casing" an area, or just "piddling around," one is with peers. For peers there is the "joint" or gathering place--pool halls, motion picture theatres, bowling alleys, community houses, drug stores, and drive-ins or eateries in winter and there are in addition the parks and playgrounds in summer. At every status level there are places where the gang gets together in the evening. It is clear that the lower status family accedes to participation in this and of "going out" much more than does the middle status family as our time budgets of how adolescents spend their evening hours show; yet there is considerable pressure to meet with the "crowd" or "gang" at all status levels. Boys do go out more evenings a week with their friends than do girls and are much more likely to often stay out after midnight than are girls. But the meaning of "being out" varies considerably for adolescents of different social status groups. A fairly large proportion of Davidson County high status adolescents stayed out after midnight quite frequently--attending the parties of their "set." A fairly large proportion of the lowest status boys, but not girls, also frequently stayed out after midnight "running around" with their crowd or gang. The interest which parents take to control the activities of their children varies also with social status of the family and other factors. Lower status families seem more interested in controlling the evening hours of girls than boys and therefore keep girls at home more often than middle and upper status parents who are more likely to be concerned with the activity of their child when away from home at night than whether or not they are away from home. Such differences in parental norms enter into the orientations adolescents develop toward parental control of their evening hours, but these differences are ignored in the following comparisons about whether parents should allow their children to be away from home after supper on school nights. About four of every 10 boys and hal tof all girls agree that "Parents should keep kids at home after supper on school nights." Correlatively about six of every 10 boys and half of all girls agree with the item: "Parents should let kids run around together after supper on school nights." There is not as much socioeconomic status variation as one might expect and this probably is due to the fact that "running around together" is interpreted in quite different ways at the several status levels. There is an age difference however with young more likely than older boys and girls to agree that "kids should be kept at home after supper on school nights." Yet overall, adolescents are not in the aggregate committed to a norm which obligates parents to keep their children at home after supper on school nights. Girls are about evenly split on the issue of "keep" versus "let" run around but a majority of the boys believe they should be allowed to run around on school nights. It is evident then that many parents are under peer pressure to accede to the adolescent norm of letting their sons and daughters run around together after supper on school nights. After supper is not always a family time but often a peer time.

Drinking and gambling are proscribed activities for adolescents in our society even though we know that a sizeable proportion of adolescents claim they at least attempted to do both and a substantial proportion claim to have done both fairly often. Gambling is distinctly a boys activity. Almost none of the girls said they gambled fairly often--less than one per cent of them, but one in five boys says he gambles fairly often. Adolescents of course recognize a wide variety of activities as gambling such as pitching pennies, betting on games or other outcomes, playing the pinball machines and buying a number. Gambling therefore is measured from the perspective of the norm as they see it. From their perspective of the norm far more of the boys than of the girls "gamble." Similarly "getting drunk" is not measured by a drunkometer but by self and other perceptions of how a person acts under the influence of alcoholic beverages. Nonetheless at least one in 10 boys but only about two in 100 girls say they often get drunk. How then do adolescents as a whole view these norms?

Girls as an aggregate are opposed to gambling and particularly making money by gambling. Over three-fourths of all girls believe "It is wrong to make money by gambling" while only about 6 in 10 boys agree that it is wrong. A sufficiently large proportion of all boys and girls nevertheless fail to see gambling as morally wrong so that the proportion who gamble is easily accounted for by the failure to accept the norm. Adolescents were not asked whether it was "all right to get drunk" but their attitudes toward drinking liquor were explored. Almost a third of the older boys (although almost two-thirds of all Roman Catholic boys) agreed that "It's all right to drink liquor." Fewer than one in 10 of the girls however agree that it is all right. Examining the corollary "It's wrong to drink liquor", about two-thirds of the boys agree it is wrong and seven of 10 girls agree it is wrong. We also asked whether "People should be prevented from drinking liquor even if they want to "as a means of getting at whether or not they thought social sanctions should be invoked to control the consumption of liquor. Over three fourths of the girls agree that this is the case and about two-thirds of the boys. But older and higher status persons are less likely than younger and lower status persons to want to agree to the use of social sanctions. These socioeconomic status differences in attitudes toward invoking sanctions to prevent the consumption of alcohol also hold for the adult population in our society. Drinking alcohol, as gambling, is sanctioned by a sufficiently large number of adolescents to make it acceptable to at least a substantial minority of boys. While girls are not very likely to sanction deviating activities such as drinking and gambling for adolescents, their behavioral rate of deviation also is very low.

Legitimate Institutionalized Means

Every society has certain institutionalized ways for reaching the culturally approved goals. Some of these are prescribed or preferred means while others are permissive only. Nonetheless, all of them at least may be classified as "legitimate" ways to reach appropriate cultural goals in the sense that they are not morally proscribed or prohibited ways. Positive sanctions will generally outweigh negative sanctions if one follows these institutionalized ways for reaching the ends.

The major success goals in American Society all are means to other goals, e.g., making money, getting a good education and choosing a good job all become means to other ends. Yet it is believed that success is more likely to eventuate from some of these means-ends chains than from others. A number of these institutionalized means were selected to learn to what extent they are seen as means appropriate to success in American society. The first one chosen was that of working hard. Hard work is a positively evaluated characteristic of persons in our society and it is legitimized by Protestant ideology. The hard worker is rewarded by praise simply for being a hard worker. Even among the "exploited," it is the hard worker who gets the praise.

A second major means to ends in American society is that of the "pleasing personality". Contemporary culture places strong emphasis not only on being acceptable to others but on being pleasant with others and likedby them. To be likeable and have a pleasing personality is to be recommended above others, all other qualifications being equal. Personnel forms are more likely to inquire whether one is pleasant and can get along with others than if the person is a mature adult capable of carrying out his tasks. This is often as true for the employment of college professors as it is for the employment of sales people. Adolescents reflect this general cultural emphasis in placing a positive premium on the "pleasing personality." It is the popular boy or girl who "gets the most dates" and other kinds of rewards from peers in the school and community setting. The third major means chosen was that of getting a college education. Many jobs require a "good," particularly a college education and, the entire educational system emphasizes the importance of learning all that "one can" so that one may "get into college."

It was Benjamin Franklin who contributed many of the maxims which characterized the value structure of the agrarian American Society like "A penny saved is a penny earned." And, Americans have long been exhorted to save. Saving is thought of as one means to get ahead--save for a college education, to go into business, to take a correspondence school course, and to get a vocational education. This ideology is different from that of the twentieth century with a Carnegie extolling that "nothing succeeds like success" or "how to win friends and influence people." Although saving continues to be held forth as a highly legitimate means as, "Join the payroll savings plan," "the Christmas savings club" or "encourage your children to save," its relative emphasis as a means has declined. The mass culture in fact generally exhorts one to spend or "buy now." And many college students expect their professional education will be subsidized so there is little need to save for it.

Many societies place a premium on "talent," though they differ considerably in what characteristics are valued as "talent." There is some argument from time to time in American Society which holds that Americans do not value intellectual talent as highly as they value most other talents. Certainly the highest in intellectual talent is not usually given monetary rewards as great as that given for the more talented in entertainment. For that matter, in one of the more celebrated cases in the recent history of American intellectual life--the Charles Van Doren case--when Mr. Van Doren's intellectual "talent" was "rewarded" with high monetary returns, he claimed that he accepted the "rewards" to "raise the esteem of the scholar" among his fellow Americans! Entertainment was from the beginning the setting within which his intellectual talent was to be rewarded however. Americans especially reward the talent of athletes, comedians, musicians, and, to a lesser extent actors. Among adolescents, especially among boys, athletic "talent" is the most esteemed quality in getting high prestige in the group or in "getting ahead."

One institutionalized means also was included to represent the permitted rather than the preferred or prescribed means. In general the prescribed and preferred means to getting ahead in our society require the dint of one's own efforts or talents. It should be noted that working hard, saving money, and getting a good education all emphasize one's "own effort." Being likeable and having a pleasant personality suggests both one's "own effort and talent," while "being a person with a special talent" of course emphasizes the element of talent per se. There is some stigma attached to all institutionalized means which do not emphasize these qualities of effort and talent and these are generally permitted means. One of the major permitted means is that of getting ahead through the effort or aid of others--"knowing the right people." It is not quite cricket to get ahead this way, but it is accepted as a means to success. Among lower status persons in fact knowing the right people appears more positively evaluated than among middle status persons. "Having the right connections" or "getting in with the gang" are in this sense "legitimate" so long as illegitimate means as well are not employed in getting ahead. To "marry the boss's daughter" to get ahead may not be quite right but it is also not quite wrong. It is at least "a smart move."

Taking these major institutionalized means, how do our adolescents evaluate them as means to get ahead. Adolescents in the Nashville city schools were asked to agree or disagree that each of these means is "The BEST way to get ahead in life..." For the county school population, each adolescent was asked to choose one of the means as the "BEST way to get ahead in life." These two procedures may tell us somewhat different things. The city measurement perhaps tells us the extent to which there is consensus among adolescents that these are "best means," since each was presented as a single stimulus in the questionnaire. There may be some contamination effects in response, since after the first stimulus was presented, the response to the second may be conditioned by the first, etc. But the order of the stimuli in the questionnaire is not the same as the order of acceptance of the stimuli as the best means to get ahead. See Table III-4. Contamination effects therefore appear to be negligible. The county measure on the other hand tells us the means which adolescents are most likely to choose as the best way to get ahead.

More than nine of every ten white and nonwhite boys and girls agree that "having a pleasing personality and being likeable," "working hard" and "getting a good education" are the BEST ways to get ahead in life. (See Table III-6). Although the percentage differences in agreement with these three items are small, to have a "pleasant personality and be likeable" receives agreement from 95 per cent or more of all white and nonwhite boys and girls, and is in first rank for each race-sex subgroup. It is closely followed by "work hard" in second rank and "get a good education" in third rank for whites but not Negroes. Negro girls reverse these ranks and Negro boys give equal endorsement to the items. In fact, while the differences are small, they are consistent with an oft observed finding of this study--that Negroes are somewhat more likely than whites to place a high valuation on education. Since the differences are small however, we conclude that there is very high consensus in American Society that these three institutionalized means are excellent ways to get ahead in life.

There is less consensus on the other three institutionalized means as BEST ways to get ahead in life, though the rank position of each means in each of the race-sex subgroups is the same (See Table III-6). "Saving money" is in fourth rank followed by "knowing the right people" and "having a special talent."

TABLE III-6: -- PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS ACCEPTING KINDS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS AS "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE AND A RANK ORDER OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEANS, BY RACE AND SEX: CITY POPULATION ONLY

The Best Way to Get Ahead in Life is To: (Questionnaire Order)	Whites				Nonwhites			
	Per Cent Agree		Per Cent Rank		Per Cent Agree		Per Cent Rank	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Have a Pleasing Personality and be Likeable	96.7	96.7	1	1.5	95.6	97.7	1	1
Know the Right People	64.7	61.6	5	5	77.2	76.9	5	5
Work Hard	95.4	96.4	2	1.5	92.7	94.4	2.5	3
Save Your Money	74.6	68.6	4	4	82.4	79.7	4	4
Get a Good Education	92.4	94.3	3	3	92.6	95.5	2.5	2
Have a Special Talent like being a Good Athlete, Actor or Singer	60.3	43.8	6	6	66.9	55.4	6	6

There is considerably more variation among the race-sex subgroups in the proportion endorsing each of these as a BEST means however. For example, nonwhite boys and girls are much more likely to see "saving your money" as a BEST means for getting ahead in life than are white boys and girls, though on the average nonwhite adolescents may have less opportunity to save money. And similarly nonwhites place more emphasis on "knowing the right people" and "having a special talent." Thus nonwhites are more likely than whites to see the "less preferred," i.e., the "permitted" means as BEST ways to get ahead in life. There is some variation in the proportion agreeing with each item by the sex of the adolescent. Both white and nonwhite boys are much more likely than girls to see the possession of a special talent like being a good athlete, actor or singer as a BEST means of getting ahead. We already have noted that this probably is due to the relatively greater emphasis which boys place on becoming a professional athlete. White boys are somewhat more likely than white girls to see saving money as a means of getting ahead but the difference is small.

To review what has been learned about adolescent consensus on these institutionalized means as best ways to get ahead, there is remarkable consensus among adolescents that "having a pleasing personality and being likeable," "working hard" or "getting a good education" (and usually all three) are BEST ways to get ahead in life. It is of some interest to note that in general these three institutionalized means are ideologically held to be equally accessible to all persons in the population. Thus American culture holds that anyone can develop a pleasant personality and be likeable regardless of his or her social origin; all can work hard and therefore get ahead by hard work; and, the ideology also holds that everyone is entitled to as much education and as good an education as he has the capacity to attain, whether "equal but separate" or "together." There of course actually are many structural differences in opportunity for adolescents to utilize or acquire these means but the ideology does not permit one to easily rationalize failure on the ground that one didn't have an "equal chance." It is easier to rationalize failure for the second set of means. Many persons don't see themselves as having a special talent, ergo they can't get ahead that way and it is "no fault of mine." It is hard to get to "know the right" people and even when one does, it can't be given as the reason for getting ahead, so it is easy to rationalize not getting ahead this way--one just wasn't in the position to know the right people. Similarly one "has to have money to save it" so that "I've never had enough money to save" is more easily accepted as a cultural defense for failure than "I never had a chance to develop a pleasing personality."

How will adolescents select from among these institutionalized means? Are some means thought of as more appropriate to getting ahead if they are forced to choose among them than are others? The county school population was presented with the six institutionalized means and asked to select only one as the "BEST way to get ahead in life." There is no way of knowing that subjects chose the one which was thought of as best for him or her. Their choices may largely represent reality assessments of which means on the average is most likely to lead to success.

There are marked differences in the proportion choosing each of the institutionalized means when an individual is forced to choose but one as the "BEST means to get ahead in life" as examination of Table III-7 discloses. Only six per cent of all choices go to the three institutionalized means "know the right people," "have a special talent like that of athlete, actor or singer" and "save your money." These probably are thought of neither as the realistic ways for most people to get ahead nor as appropriate to one's own mobility aspirations. The Protestant ethic of working hard is most often selected by adolescents as the

BEST way to get ahead in life but there are marked race subgroup differences in selecting it. Only 27 per cent of the Negroes as contrasted with 45 per cent of the whites see hard work as the best way to get ahead in life. Negroes may be more realistically aware of the barriers they face in getting ahead as the result of hard work. "It takes more than sweat to get ahead." This race difference persists for sex and ascribed socioeconomic status subgroups in Table III-7.

The second ranking choice is that of "having a pleasing personality and being likeable," with 30 per cent of all adolescents making this choice. There is no race or socioeconomic variation in selecting this means but there is a marked sex difference with 39 per cent of the girls but only 20 per cent of the boys selecting this means to get ahead. This sex difference persists within race and socioeconomic status subgroups in Table III-7. Girls in American society undoubtedly are aware of the way in which opportunities for getting ahead are restricted to them in competition with boys. They also are aware of the fact that their appraisal of goals differs from that of boys. They are more oriented toward marriage and the family as a "career" than are boys. To get ahead means to girls competition with boys in the job world and competition with girls for boys in the homemaking world. What means are appropriate to getting ahead? For boys getting ahead means competition only with boys. While the feminist may strongly object to the notion that a girl gets ahead in the work world because she is a girl (and this notion may be patently false), is it altogether absent from the ideational world of the girl? And what serves her best in competition with other girls? Hard work? Or, saving money? Hardly. But a "pleasant personality" appears among adolescents to be the desired quality in both boys and girls, but more particularly girls. A college education may make her too competitive and most on the average lack a special talent and fail

TABLE III-7: — PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS CHOOSING THE SINGLE BEST MEANS TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE FROM AMONG SIX INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS BY RACE, SEX, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: COUNTY POPULATION

Race, Sex and Socioeconomic Status	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have a Pleasant Personality and be Likeable	Get a College Education	Know the Right People	Have a Special Talent	Save Your Money	Total Number
White Males	47	19	26	3	3	2	4694
White Collar	48	20	26	2	3	1	2162
Blue Collar	46	19	26	4	3	2	2532
White Females	44	39	14	2	1	*	5197
White Collar	43	41	14	1	1	*	2379
Blue Collar	44	36	15	3	1	1	2818
Negro Males	28	25	30	3	9	5	210
White Collar	25	25	38	-	12	-	24
Blue Collar	28	25	29	4	9	5	186
Negro Females	26	35	33	2	2	2	275
White Collar	34	34	32	-	-	-	35
Blue Collar	25	35	33	3	2	2	240
Total	44	30	20	3	2	1	

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

to see how the right people might help them in these endeavors. The most appropriate means available to them then in American culture are those associated with "personality." The values of the farm world in selecting a wife (a hard worker and ability to procreate) are of little salience to the urban dweller of today.

In third place as a choice is "getting a college education."[2] There are no socioeconomic status differences in selecting this means but there are race and sex differences. More of the Negroes (31 per cent) than of the whites (20 per cent) and of the boys (26 per cent) than of the girls (15 per cent) select this institutionalized means as the BEST way to get ahead. The sex difference almost disappears for Negro comparisons in Table III-7 so that race ideology is the more important of the two factors for Negro boys and girls. The sex difference persists in socioeconomic status groups for whites, so that white girls regardless of status are much less likely to select a college education as the best means to get ahead in life. Perhaps Negro girls think much less about any of these means as ways for girls to get ahead than do white girls.

Only three per cent of all adolescents saw "knowing the right people" as the BEST means to get ahead and there are no marked race, sex or socioeconomic status differences of consequence. But when race-sex and socioeconomic status differences are considered it seems clear that blue-collar adolescents are more likely to see "knowing the right people" as a best means of getting ahead than are white-collar adolescents. White-collar adolescents may be more likely to take "knowing the right people" for granted while some blue-collar adolescents at least see that this is an important factor in getting ahead.

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[2] There is a difference between the city and county school questionnaires in the statement of this means. For the city population it was worded "get a good education;" for the county population, "get a college education."

But two per cent of all adolescents chose "having a special talent like that of an athlete, actor or singer" as the BEST means of getting ahead, but three per cent of the boys and only one per cent of the girls, five per cent of Negroes and only two per cent of whites chose this means. The sex difference persists in both race groups but Negro males most clearly see this as a BEST means to get ahead. In Table III-5 we see that nine per cent of all Negro boys chose a special talent as the best means to get ahead.

Finally only one per cent of all adolescents agreed that "having money" is the BEST means to get ahead. More of the Negroes than of the whites and of the boys than of the girls chose it as the BEST means to get ahead. These differences persist in race-sex socioeconomic status subgroups as examination of Table III-7 shows. Negro boys are most likely to accept it as a BEST means to get ahead and white girls are least likely to choose it.

If we ignore small percentage differences and rank order these institutionalized means for race-sex subgroups the following differences in rank order occur:

	Work Hard	Pleasant Personality	College Education	Know Right People	Special Talent	Save Money
White boys	1	3	2	4.5	6	4.5
White girls	1	2	3	4	5	6
Negro boys	2	3	1	6	4	5
Negro girls	3	1	2	5	5	5
All Adolescents	1	2	3	4	5	6

The rank profile for all adolescents holds only for white girls. Whites most often choose hard work but it is the second most frequent choice of Negro boys and only the third most frequent choice for Negro girls. The choices of Negro and white boys rank a pleasant personality in thrrd place while Negro girls give it a slight edge over that of a college education to rank it first. Of the race-sex subgroups, white girls give the lowest rank to a college education while Negro boys rank it first.

There are strong elements in American culture which suggest to one that it is not quite "right" to get ahead except by one's own effort. This stems partly from the Calvinistic heritage of western culture where it is maintained that one should not get something for nothing and that suffering lead to virtue. The element of personal sacrifice in getting ahead is highly esteemed in American persons. The mother "who takes in washing" so that her son may go to college, the boys who "work their way through school" somehow merit more respect or esteem than those who didn't have to sacrifice to get an education. To what extent then do adolescents perceive getting ahead as involving sacrifice? The city population was asked to indicate agreement with the statement: "You've got to be able to give up lots of things to get ahead in this life." High agreement with this statement suggests an acceptance of means involving sacrifice, that personal sacrifice itself is a means. Looking at the seventeen city school contexts which vary markedly in their socioeconomic status composition, at least eight of every ten boys in each of the schools agrees that you have to be able to give up lots of things to get ahead in this life. Somewhat more of the girls than of the boys on the average agree that sacrifice is necessary, but the sex difference is small. High status boys are somewhat more likely than low status ones to agree that personal sacrifice is involved in getting ahead. This is somewhat surprising in the sense that one might expect that objectively lower status boys need to sacrifice more to get ahead. Since this statement primarily involves a reality assessment, one might anticipate that lower status boys would be altogether aware of the necessity to sacrifice while middle and upper status boys are more likely to take their indulgences for granted. Yet sacrifice is a relative matter and in the end among those who go to college it may be the middle status scholarship boy who feels he sacrifices most to get an education while the lower status boy is satisfied to have gotten a scholarship which permits him to go to college.

The county school population was asked to indicate their own willingness to sacrifice in the interest of getting ahead: "I am willing to give up a lot of things that I really want to do in order to get ahead in life." Only about seven in every ten boys agree with this statement. The proportion of agreement is somewhat greater for boys than girls, though again the sex difference is small. While between eight and nine of every 10 boys and girls agree that success in American Society requires personal sacrifice, only about seven in every ten agree that they personally are willing to "give up a lot" to get ahead. The proportion who objectively (rather than subjectively) will sacrifice a lot is probably well below this proportion. High status boys are somewhat more likely than low status ones to express a willingness to accept personal sacrifice to get ahead. Perhaps the ideology of sacrifice is more internalized by middle than lower status boys and girls in American Society, even though lower status religious ideology and rationalizations tend to emphasize sacrifice.

It is often said that young people in our society have a "great deal of time on their hands" and that they are "wasteful of time" or fail to appreciate how important it is to use time wisely. Our heritage has emphasized that "he who wastes not wants not" and that we should make "every spare minute of time count." "Idle hands are the tools (or idle minds are the workshop) of the devil." Though young people may spend a great deal of time in convivial activity (and analysis of how they spend their time after school each day shows that this is the case), to what extent do they accept the idea that wise use of spare time is a means to get ahead? Each adolescent was asked to express agreement with the statement "Young people should make every spare minute of their spare time count if they expect to get a good job." About three-fourths of all boys and over 85 per cent of all girls agree that one must make every minute of spare time count to expect to get a good job. Negroes place somewhat greater emphasis on the wise use of time as a means to getting a good job than do whites, although the difference is not large.

We have taken occasion to note that athletic activity is highly regarded among adolescents in our society. Many virtues are attributed to athletic activity as means to cultural goals: "Success in sports leads to success in life;" "Motor skills will be developed which give pleasure and confidence in later years;" "Team play helps one to get along with others," and so on. Our adolescents were asked to express their agreement with one of these, "Athletic sports teach you how to get along with others." At least nine of every 10 boys and girls agree that athletic sports are a means to a means-end of getting along with others; it is higher for older than younger boys and girls. In fact the percentage of boys agreeing with this item is somewhat greater than that agreeing with any of the following statements about the value of religion: "Religion helps me to be a better person than I really am;" "Religion is one of the most important things to me in my daily life;" "Religion helps me more than anything else when I get into trouble or feel badly" and "Religion helps me pretty much in getting along from day to day." For girls, the reverse is the case. Somewhat more agree that religion is important in these respects. While the sex differences in each case are small suggesting that both religion and athletics are viewed as highly important means to cultural goals, for boys the value of athletics may have a slight "edge" over those of religion. In any case, adolescents from a southern

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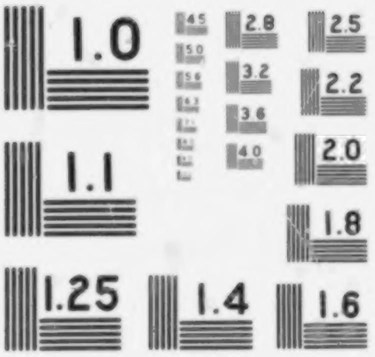
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS–1963

community reject neither religion nor athletics as important means to them in attaining goals. Whether or not participation in athletic competition is useful as a means to cultural goals is another question. Sports are at least perceived as useful in our culture.

Illegitimate Means

Every society proscribes or prohibits the use of certain means to cultural goals--the "illegitimate" means. These means lie outside the area of institutionalized means or what has been called the "legitimate" means (those which society legitimizes or approves as the means to ends). Means declared illegitimate however may not be universally accepted by all in the society as illegitimate means to ends. Some subgroups of the population may accept them as "legitimate." This often may happen in the "gray areas" of norms. Under certain conditions or in certain situations it is all right to use a means which otherwise is considered illegitimate. There are in other words subgroups which do not accept the dominant view of a particular means as "illegitimate" to ends, and for all persons there may be situations in which one is exempted from the operation of the general institutional expectations regarding the use of the means. In our own society there are marked subgroup differences in the definition of what is and what is not a legitimate means. Some subgroups for example view gambling as a legitimate means to make money while others view it as illegitimate. Our Roman Catholic subgroup of boys for example do not view gambling as morally wrong (the Roman Catholic Church does not view gambling as morally wrong so long as the outcome is unknown, i.e., subject to the laws of probability). But the subgroup of Baptist boys for example see it as morally wrong (the Southern Baptist Convention defines it as morally wrong). In still other cases, a subgroup may define a means as illegitimate but in practice the means may be almost universally employed. Robin Williams discusses at some length these "patterned evasions."[3] For example, the cultural goals of the classroom prescribe honesty in taking examinations, yet there is patterned evasion in the form of cheating. Below we shall explore the extent to which adolescents perceive illegitimate means as acceptable in the pursuit of cultural goals.

It will be recalled that Merton maintains that our culture places relatively strong emphasis on ends as compared with means. Deviation is more likely to occur with respect to the acceptance of institutionalized means rather than in disagreement over ends. For this reason we asked the adolescents to agree or disagree that certain "illegitimate" means might be used in the pursuit of "success," "getting ahead" or "making money" in American society. It already is known that the adolescents predominantly accept the major cultural goals.

Merton and others point out that in American society, "luck" is a social doctrine. The doctrine permits the successful to attribute their success to "Lady Luck" and thereby it "...serves the dual function of explaining the frequent discrepancy between merit and reward while keeping immune from criticism a social structure which allows this discrepancy to become frequent." For the unsuccessful it "...serves the psychological function of enabling them to preserve their self-esteem in the face of failure. It may also entail the dysfunction of curbing motivation for sustained endeavor."[4]

Adolescents are competitive in a variety of activities in the school and classroom and success may well be evaluated in terms of luck as Merton suggests. We did not explore their "success world." Rather, we chose to ask them whether they thought in general that to be successful one had to depend more upon luck or hard work. We saw luck and hard work somewhat as polar values in the American scheme of cultural values. At least it is known that Americans place strong emphasis on hard work as a means to getting ahead. Now the adolescents were asked to evaluate luck in relation to hard work.

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[3] See Robin M. Williams, "Institutional Variation and the Evasion of Normative Patterns" in American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, Chapter 10.

[4] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

"If you want to become successful, you have to depend upon luck more than hard work." Only 11 per cent of all adolescents expressed some agreement with this statement, indicating that they do not accept the doctrine that luck is a better means than hard work to get ahead. This does not mean of course that failing or getting ahead by hard work or other means will not be rationalized by the social doctrine of luck. Table III-8 shows the agreement with this statement by the race, sex, age and socioeconomic status subgroups of adolescents. There is no significant age variation, but significantly more of the Negroes, of the boys and of the low socioeconomic status adolescents see luck as a means to be preferred to that of hard work in getting ahead. Almost 20 per cent of all Negroes accept luck over hard work as compared with only about half as many whites. Negroes without a doubt face greater barriers to getting ahead than do whites. Their greater agreement that luck is a factor in getting ahead may serve then to justify their "lesser chance of success." Support for this is found in the fact that twice as many of the low as of the high status adolescents agree that luck is more important than hard work. Low status persons also face greater barriers to achievement. But on this basis we would also expect girls to agree that luck is more important than hard work, and they do not.

The "rules of the game" require that one be a "sportsman" and "obey the rules." To get ahead one should "win" according to the rules. Yet, does the end justify the means? This area was explored with two items for which race, sex, age, and ascribed socioeconomic status variation is presented in Table III-8.

TABLE III-8: -- PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS AGREEING THAT USE OF ILLEGITIMATE MEANS TO SUCCESS GOALS IS JUSTIFIABLE, BY RACE, SEX, AGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Per Cent Agree	All Cases	Race		Sex		Socioeconomic Status			Age		
		White	Negro	Male	Female	Low	Middle	High	10-13	14-15	16 & Over
If you want to become successful, you have to depend upon luck more than hard work.	11	9	19	13	9	13	9	6	11	11	9
If you ever want to get ahead of others in the struggle for success, you've got to break a few rules.	23	22	27	31	14	24	22	20	19	23	23
If you are falling behind others in the struggle for success, it is all right to break a few rules to keep up.	16	14	26	22	9	19	15	12	15	16	14
In the struggle for success it's not what you know but who you know that counts.	40	38	51	44	37	46	39	32	41	39	41

"If you ever want to get ahead of others in the struggle for success, you've got to break a few rules" and "if you are falling behind others in the struggle for success, it's all right to break a few rules to keep up." It was thought that agreement should be higher with the second than the first statement, since the emphasis in the second one is on "keeping up" rather than on "getting ahead." The adolescent culture, it was thought, would justify breaking rules to "keep up" more than it would justify such behavior to "get ahead." But this is not the case at least if their responses are accepted as valid indicators of their value position. More of the adolescents (23 per cent) though it was all right to break a few rules to get ahead than thought it was all right to break them to "keep up" (16 per cent). "Don't give the failure an even break!" But, there is some interesting subgroup variation in agreeing with the items.

The race and socioeconomic status differences are smaller for breaking a few rules to get ahead than they are for breaking a few rules to keep up. Almost the same proportion of Negroes (26 and 27 per cent) agree with both items but while 22 per cent of all whites agree that you've got to break a few rules to get ahead, only 14 per cent (about half that for Negroes) agree it's all right to break a few rules to keep up. The same order of differences prevail for socioeconomic status subgroup comparisons. More of the low than of the high status adolescents agree to breaking rules to reach success goals but the difference is even somewhat greater for the breaking of a few rules to keep up. Now it is an interesting fact that Negroes and low status persons have a "harder time" keeping up than do whites and high status persons. It should follow as a consequence that they are more likely to endorse breaking rules to keep up.

Girls are much less likely than boys to justify the choice of means in terms of the end. Less than half as many of the girls as of the boys see that breaking rules is justified either to get ahead or to keep up. These findings are in keeping with the general observation that girls and women are "the keepers of morality" in American Society. There is no marked age difference for either item.

Earlier it was noted that only 65 per cent of city white boys and 62 per cent of city white girls accepted "knowing the right people" as the best way to get ahead in life. Somewhat more of the Negroes proportionally (77 per cent) agreed with the statement. And in fact when county school subjects were presented with a forced choice situation among means to get ahead, only from zero to four per cent of all race-sex-socioeconomic status subgroups accepted "knowing the right people" as the BEST means to get ahead. Getting a "good" or a "college" education was accepted by a much larger proportion of the population. One of the colloquial expressions about these two values is "It's not what you know but who you know that counts," thus placing knowing the right people above the value in knowledge. Our adolescents were asked to express their agreement with the statement: "In the struggle for success, it's not what you know but who you know that counts." To our surprise, two-fifths of all adolescents agreed with this statement. Negroes (51 per cent) were more likely than whites (38 per cent) and low than high status adolescents to agree with the statement as inspection of Table III-8 discloses. Again those adolescents who most experience barriers to success are more likely than those who are less likely to experience such barriers to agree that a permissive means is more related to success than a preferred one. The way this statement is worded does not mean that they would make such a choice. It essentially asks them to assess reality. The more deprived members of a subgroup are on the average in the struggle for success the more likely they are to say that the less legitimate means of who you know is a more important factor in the struggle for success than the more legitimate one of how much knowledge one has acquired.

Males are somewhat more likely than females to express agreement with the value that knowing the right people is more important than what one knows in the struggle for success, but there are no significant differences by age.

The positively sanctioned ways to make money in American Society are such legitimate means as investment, income from salary or wages on a job, gifts or bequests, and other means for getting "an honest dollar." Some ways are defined as "within the law" but are not generally approved such as "shrewd trading" or the "hard sell." Still other ways are defined as dishonest business practices such as false advertising. Adolescents were asked to express their agreement with a number of such "less" legitimate or illegitimate ways of making money. Each statement was prefaced with: "It's all right to make money...". A majority of adolescents are against making money by any of these means but there are differences in the proportion against (or for) depending upon the character of the means.

About 40 per cent of the boys compared with proportionally less than half as many girls agree that it is all right to make money "by charging more than something is worth if people are willing to pay it." P. T. Barnum was famous for saying "A sucker is born every minute." Apparently many adolescents believe there is nothing too wrong with taking advantage of "a sucker;" at least four of every 10 boys believe it's all right to make money this way. It is the fault of the customer "if he" gets "taken on the goods he buys," and "charge whatever the traffic will bear" probably would secure equally high or greater acceptance from these adolescents. A somewhat smaller proportion of adolescents is willing to condone making money in a racket or by running a gambling business. About one in every four boys is willing to condone making money either way but only somewhat more than one in every 20 girls will condone these as forms of business activity. And about one in every four boys as compared with one in every 10 girls agreed that it is all right to make money "by taking advantage of someone in a trade" or by "not telling the whole truth about what you are selling." Negroes are somewhat more likely than whites and low status more likely than high status adolescents for both boys and girls to condone making money by any of these means. Older adolescents are more likely than younger ones to condone these means. We conclude then that except for the sex difference, those who are least likely to enter business are most likely to condone the less legitimate practices for making money. This may seem somewhat of an anomaly since it seems likely that persons from these subgroups are most likely to be exploited by such practices (of course, they are therefore more likely to observe these practices).

The evidence again points to girls as the "keepers" of morality. Only a relatively small proportion of all girls are willing to condone any of these illegitimate "business practices." One of the interesting findings in this connection is that they are perhaps least likely to condone making money by running a gambling business or in some racket as compared with the other illegitimate business practices. Given the essentially fundamentalist religious orientation of many of our adolescents and the strong emphasis on the "immorality of drinking, gambling, dancing and smoking," it is not too surprising that they express the strongest antipathy toward the means represented by one of these activities--gambling.

Stealing is proscribed by the mores so that it is difficult to get expressions of opinion on the extent to which stealing may be condoned as a means to ends. The majority of adolescents strongly disagree with any item condoning stealing unless it is necessitated by dire circumstances. A permissive stealing scale was contrived but only by using the strongly disagree versus all other forms of response as an indicator of some willingness to condone stealing--or at least not feeling as strongly about the immorality of the action. Only about one in every four boys and one in every ten girls agree that "It's all right to take things that don't belong to you" under the dire circumstances "if you are poor and hungry." And only one in every eight boys and one in every 16 girls condone taking "little things that don't belong to you for souvenirs or reminders." Fewer than one in every ten boys and one in every 25 girls agree that its all right to take them if "they are only little things," or "if you think they'll never be missed" or even when "everybody is doing it" or "if you're sure you won't get caught." Still while these proportions agreeing it's all right to take things that don't belong to you are small from a normative standpoint we are dealing here with a strongly proscribed behavior and the fact that roughly five per cent of all boys think it's all right to take things that don't belong to you if you're sure you won't get caught (the instrumental attitude), suggests that there is a fairly high potential for delinquency in the population. And taken together almost one in every 20 boys agree that it's all right to take little things as souvenirs or reminders. Property rights can be violated particularly if one can deny the value of the object to oneself and others (little things which are "only souvenirs") or if the risk is very low ("they won't be missed," or, "you are sure you won't get caught") or if it is being done by the peer group ("everyone is doing it"). This tendency for at least a small proportion condone these actions suggests that there is far from complete acceptance of the respect for property norms in our society and that fairly large numbers of boys, though not girls, can easily legitimize acts of petty thefts.

Still if we compare the extent to which quasi-legitimate or illegitimate business practices are accepted as means to making money with the extent to which the taking of property is justified as a means to ends, there is much less willingness to accept the taking of property than to engage in immoral business practices. A fairly large proportion of adolescent males are permissive ("It's all right to....") with respect to the use of other than legitimate means to culturally approved ends such as making money but, only a relatively small proportion are willing to agree with an attitude which is in direct contradiction to a mos: "Thou shalt not steal." Nevertheless as noted above, there is a sufficiently large proportion of boys who are willing to be permissive (it's all right to take..) with respect to property norms that no strong internal sanctions will operate against at least occasional deviation in the form of petty thievery. Parenthetically it might be remarked that boys often may engage in the most petty of thievery for girls--it is the boy who "snitches the souvenir" which the girls then accept with protestation (she didn't steal it!) From the legal standpoint, a girl may be more willing to receive stolen property than to steal it.

Academic achievement is one of the major goals toward which adolescents are compelled to strive. Achievement is measured in large part by performance in examinations. The norm governing conduct during examinations is that only "honest" means (one's own performance) are acceptable in the test situation. This is in fact a prescribed means in all schools. Cheating is proscribed and it is treated as a most serious violation to be met with the strongest of sanctions. We know nonetheless that large numbers of boys and girls admit to cheating at some time in their schooling. There are two major ways to cheat, with, or without, the cooperation of others. Knowing that the peer society exercises strong positive sanctions for conforming to the expectations of peers, one would expect that a boy or girl would feel under greatest compulsion to participate in a cheating situation where friends are involved. We therefore constructed a hypothetical situation in which a friend places the adolescent under pressure to help him cheat. An attempt then was made to learn whether the adolescent thought the friend had a legitimate right to expect help and then whether or not help would be given. The test situation was as follows:

"You have a friend who sits near you during a test. You know an answer he wants to know. Howwould you feel?

That he has no right to expect me to help him.
That he has a right to expect me to help him."

"Now, what would you do--

I would help him.
I would not help him."

We recognized after the questionnaire was given that girls might have taken the pronoun "he" to mean a boy who was also a friend. This, if true, would make the situation qualitatively different for at least some girls (a cross-sex expectation) than for boys (same sex expectation). The more detailed analysis below therefore is reported only for white boys, the largest single population subgroup.

Girls are somewhat more likely than boys to feel that one's friend has no right to expect help that is proscribed in a test situation. About seven of every 10 boys but closer to eight of every 10 girls think that one's friend has no right to expect help and, there is little variation by socioeconomic status. Boys too are more likely to say they would give help than are girls. Somewhat over half of all the boys would help a friend regardless of how he felt about the norm while only about four of every 10 girls would help a friend. Again there is very little variation by socioeconomic status level. We would conclude from these observations that the norms regarding honesty in classroom examinations and cheating behavior are not markedly affected by one's socioeconomic status nor for that matter by the sex of the subject since the sex difference is not large. The norms governing honesty in the testing of achievement in school are actually rejected by a fairly substantial proportion of all adolescents and close to half of them in the aggregate say they will help a friend cheat.

Table III-9 provides evidence that the norm regarding honesty is often honored in the breach when applied in a situation where one is subject to pressure from peers. Twenty-five per cent of *all* boys do not feel their friend has a right to expect help But they nonetheless would help him cheat. On the other hand if one believes the friend has a right to expect help, he usually will help him to cheat. Only four per cent of all boys felt the friend had a right to expect help and would not help him. A majority of boys nonetheless said they would behave about as one would predict from their normative position as examination of Table III-9 also shows. More of those who felt their friend had no right to expect help would not help than would help their friend and, correlatively most of those who felt one's friend had a right said they would help a friend. Thus 87 per cent of the boys who felt their friend was entitled to "help" said they *would* give help. And 74 per cent of the boys who felt their friend had *no* right would not help. Yet it is clear that more of those who felt that their friend had no right to help would violate their norm (26 per cent) than of those who felt their friend had a right (13 per cent). This provides additional evidence then that response to peer pressure is a factor in deviation from the norm as well perhaps as peer pressure being a factor in forcing one to adopt a norm for the situation favorable to cheating.

Several times it has been pointed out that adolescents are under considerable pressure from peers to either reject cultural goals or to choose illegitimate means to cultural goals. It is more likely that the pressure comes in terms of the selection of means than in the acceptance of ends. In the cheating situation described above, evidence is presented that many adolescents who do not believe that it is moral to cheat nonetheless will help a friend cheat though

TABLE III-9: -- PER CENT OF WHITE BOYS EXPRESSING AGREEMENT WITH NORM OF GIVING HELP IN A TEST SITUATION AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY WOULD GIVE HELP

Norm of Right (or Not) to Expect Help	Socioeconomic Status and Help or Not Help									
	Low		Middle		High		Total		Total	
	Would Help	Would Not Help	Would Help	Would Not Help	Would Help	Would Not Help	Would Help	Would Not Help	Per Cent	Number
No Right to Expect Help	24	44	25	41	24	48	25	43	68	6096
Right to Expect Help	28	4	28	4	24	4	28	4	32	2832
Total Per Cent	52	48	54	45	48	52	53	47	100	8928
Total Number	1333	1217	2253	1884	900	967	4693	4235	8928	

many too go even further and deny that it is wrong to help a friend cheat in a test situation. Some sociologists have commented on this tendency for adolescents to be especially responsive to the desires and wishes of their peers (though the question might well be raised, whence come the group's desires and wishes?). Others like David Riesman see that this tendency prevails for adults as well. Modern mass man in the aggregate is an "other-directed person":

> "What is common to all other-directeds is that their contemporaries are the course of direction for the individual--either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media. This source is of course 'internalized' in the sense that dependence on it for guidance is implanted early. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance; it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life."5/

5/ David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 22.

Reisman characterizes participation in the peer society of children and adolescents as "trial by jury." In his highly perceptive manner he observes:

> "The child is....exposed to trial by jury without any defenses either from the side of its own morality or from the adults. All the morality is the group's. Indeed, even the fact that it is a morality is concealed by the confusing notion that the function of the group is to have fun, to play; the deadly seriousness of the business, which might justify the child in making an issue of it, is therefore hidden."6/

6/ Ibid., p. 72.

This line of reasoning suggests that the nature of contemporary peer society is a responsiveness to the situation and the situational pressures from peers. To what extent then do adolescents feel a responsiveness to peers apart from considerations of "morality"? This is a difficult thing to measure but an attempt was made to measure it by asking adolescents to agree or disagree with the following statement: "You have to go along with what your group wants or be left out of everything." It was thought that this statement captured the idea that failure to follow the group brings strong sanctions in the form of exclusion at the same time that it also captures what Riesman states: "morality is the group's." A majority of all white boys--56 per cent--agree with this statement as do almost one half--48 per cent--of all Negro boys. But a much smaller proportion of white girls--only 34 per cent--and proportionately fewer of the Negro girls--42 per cent--agree with the statement.

The demands which friends make upon one's time interfere with the pursuit of other goals. Adolescents were asked to respond to one such situation: "When you do not have time to keep up your lessons and your friendships, it is better to neglect your lessons than your friends." Roughly 38 per cent of all white boys agree with this statement as compared with 28 per cent of all white girls, but the status difference is more marked for boys than girls, (though not large in either case). For boys, proportionally more of the lower status boys (41 per cent) than of the middle (37 per cent) and high (33 per cent) status ones are willing to sacrifice lessons to friends. The small status subgroup differences for girls are in the opposite direction--27 per cent of the low, 28 of the middle and 32 per cent of the high status girls. A substantial proportion of all adolescents, and particularly of boys, again are willing to sacrifice a goal of getting lessons done to the demands of the peer group.

We chose a number of situations in which the demands of the peer group were to pursue prescribed or prohibited cultural goals or to use illegitimate means to cultural goals. Only a relatively small proportion of all adolescents agree that they would follow friends in these cases. Yet in the aggregate it amounts to a considerable number of adolescents who will choose to follow friends in such situations. For example, we asked: "If you found that a friend was leading you into serious trouble, would you continue to go around with him?" Sixteen per cent of all white and 14 per cent of all Negro boys said that they would "keep him as a friend" rather than "quit him right away." Half as many of the white girls and 6 per cent of the Negro girls agreed they would keep such a person as a friend.

Another statement presented the adolescents with this situation:

> "If you were with your friends and they wanted to do something that you knew was against the law, what would you do?"

Table III-10 provides a race-sex percentage distribution for six alternative responses to this normative conflict situation. There are a number of dimensions in these responses: the relative responsiveness to peer pressure, the moral dilemma in the conflict, the kind and extent of participation in the situation, and the personal reaction to it. None of these dimensions is explicitly included in all responses. Only one of the responses refers specifically to adult authority, "get someone who was older to try and stop them." Negroes choose this type of response about twice as often as whites. Only eight per cent of all white boys would turn to adult authority in a situation of this kind. Since all other responses in some sense are a concession to group pressure, one might conclude that fewer than one in 10 boys would try to prevent the group from carrying out its activity against the law. This is actually not an altogether valid inference, since subjects were obviously not provided with all possible alternative courses of action, some of which might also go against peer authority. A majority of all boys and girls would "try to talk them out of it." The nature of this statement however is that it provides the subject with an easy way out of the moral dilemma--it doesn't force a subject to any moral commitment on the one hand nor on the other hand does it force one to say that one would not go along with the group. It is not surprising therefore that a majority of all

TABLE III-10: -- PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS CHOOSING ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF DEALING WITH A NORMATIVE CONFLICT SITUATION: "DO SOMETHING THAT YOU KNEW WAS AGAINST THE LAW," BY RACE AND SEX

If you were with your friends and they wanted you to do something that you knew was against the law, what would you do?	Race and Sex				Total	
	White		Negro			
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Get somebody who was older to try and stop them	8	15	21	28	10	17
Try to talk them out of it	55	64	52	48	54	62
Say nothing and leave	20	13	20	19	20	14
Go along but not do anything yourself	9	4	4	3	9	4
Do it and not worry about it	4	1	2	*	4	1
Do it, but worry about it after	4	3	1	2	3	2
Total Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	8798	8666	1443	1686	10241	10352

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

adolescents choose this position. Yet selecting this position may indicate that a large proportion of all adolescents actually do see the situation as a moral problem for _themselves_ since more than six of every 10 boys and girls in both race subgroups choose solutions which suggest they personally experience the situation as a moral dilemma. Either they would get somebody who was older to try and stop them or they would try to talk them out of it. A sizeable group too says they would "leave the group but say nothing." This position as contrasted with the one where one tries to "talk them out of it" is a double form of acquiescence--an acquiescence morally (one doesn't disagree with them) and a commitment to let the group go ahead. For some adolescents this may appear to be a way of maintaining one's position in the group without actually going against it. Nonetheless it may be easier to say one would say nothing and leave the group than to actually leave it. One risks "chickening out."

A substantial minority of each race-sex subgroup, particularly white boys, would go along with the group in the situation. While all of these do not say they would participate actively (only about half of the white boys and girls who would go along say they would actually participate in the act against the law) still eight per cent of the white boys, four per cent of the white girls, three per cent of Negro boys and two per cent of Negro girls say they would participate in the illegal activity if the group wanted to do something they knew was wrong. If all of these adolescents actually did participate in group activities against the law, the delinquency rate would be fairly high for the population as a whole.

Adolescents are most likely to experience conflict about what to do when friends want them to do one thing and parents forbid them to do it or at least advise against it. In these situations, the adolescent is subject to cross-pressures and the question naturally arises, which set of pressures on the average will be the strongest--those of parents or those from peers? Again it is a most difficult thing to measure these cross-pressures and their resolution, particularly if one wishes to know whether an adolescent will usually resolve it in favor of parents or of peers. The reason for this is that the goal of the situation itself--the thing one wants to do--is an important element in the resolution of the cross-pressures (and to be sure the parents will recognize this too as in each case they also may recognize cross-pressures). This approach suggests that to know how an individual probably would resolve these cross-pressures one must find out how he or she would act (or does act) in situations with a wide range of goals. Unfortunately the limits of our investigation precluded such a refined measurement. A general question of how one would act in a cross-pressure situation therefore was used: "If your friends want you to do something and your parents tell you not to do it, whom would you follow?"

The large majority of adolescents in all race-sex subgroups say they would follow parents. But among both whites and Negroes, boys are less likely to follow parent's wishes than are girls. The actual proportions are for whites: boys, 9 per cent and, girls, 5 per cent; and, for Negroes: boys, 5 per cent and, girls, 2 per cent. Though these may seem like very small proportions of adolescents who say they would follow friends in such a situation; still it means that almost one in every 10 boys would deviate from parental expectations. And, that is a fairly substantial proportion of deviators.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter describes adolescent orientations toward cultural goals and their acceptance of institutionalized means. Variation in orientation to cultural goals and acceptance of means is examined for race, sex and in some cases socioeconomic status subgroups of the population.

The older one gets in American society, the more salient it is for a boy to make money and the older he gets the more likely he is to accept the norm that one should make more money than his father since almost no boy wishes to make less. The American success ideology progressively leads adolescent boys regardless of their socioeconomic status origins toward accepting the cultural goal: "to be successful you must make more money than your father."

Adolescents in the aggregate accept the success goal of getting a good education. Schooling is very important to them and most believe that you should keep on going to school even if you are doing very poor academically. This suggests that going to school, regardless of how well you are performing or achieving, is in and of itself considered important to adolescents, perhaps for nonacademic reasons. Nonetheless, a sizeable minority of adolescents reject some aspect of the normative structure governing the schooling of adolescents. A large proportion—almost a majority in the case of white boys—feel that the rules are too strict about coming to school. And a sizeable minority too—almost one-fifth of the white boys--say they want to "quit school right now." Roughly the same proportion say they want to "quit school and go to work." They thereby indicate their preference for an alternative conforming goal. A lesser proportion want to quit school as they feel they are forced to attend, suggesting perhaps that there is less desire to rebel against the norm of compulsory school attendance than there are attractive aspects for the conforming goal of a full time job.

Going to college is the valued amount of schooling for a large segment of the adolescent population. Over half of all adolescents believe that "most people ought to go to college." These adolescents most likely on the average to go to college are also most likely to hold this norm that most people in American Society ought to go to college. Almost half of all adolescents saw themselves as wanting to go to college and a majority of all mothers were perceived as holding college expectations for them.

Examining the vocational choices of adolescents, we find that the business occupations and particularly those of capitalist entrepreneurship are very "weak images" to boys in the American school system. At least they are weak images to boys in high schools in making their occupational choice. Most American boys do not associate making money with entrepreneurship but rather with making a living in the professions. Furthermore, mothers on the average hold somewhat higher expectations for their sons occupational goal than sons on the average hold for themselves. Mothers are even more likely to select professional occupational goals for their sons than the sons are to select these goals for themselves.

Only a minority of all adolescents agree that young people should be allowed to get married while going to high school and most feel that marriage should not occur without parental approval. Both the peer culture and the peer society of adolescents in America would have to change considerably if either of these norms were accepted since the major orientation of adolescents in this sphere of courtship and marriage is around the process of "dating." A majority of all adolescents favor a policy of noninterference by adults in their selection of a date. In fact almost seven of every 10 white boys feel they should be allowed to "date whom you want to." This is about the same proportion as actually do date "pretty often."

One of the major sources of parent-child conflict is the control of how the child is to spend the evening hours, and particularly how children are to spend their time on "school nights." At least six in every 10 adolescents agree that "Parents should let kids run around together after supper on school nights" and only about four in 10 agree with the corollary that parents should keep them home after supper on school nights. There is not very much socioeconomic status variation in agreement with either of these norms, although younger adolescents are more likely to feel parents should keep them home than are older ones.

Drinking alcoholic beverages and gambling is positively sanctioned by a sufficiently large number of adolescents to make them acceptable for a substantial minority of boys. Adolescent girls however are not very likely to positively sanction these behaviors nor to engage in them.

In the selection of institutionalized means to cultural goals, the major approved means are "hard work," "having a pleasing personality and being likeable" and, "getting a good or a college education." Girls more often emphasize the pleasing personality while boys more often emphasize getting a college education when they are forced to choose one of these two means as the BEST means to get ahead in life. Both boys and girls in the aggregate however agree that "hard work is the BEST means to get ahead" in the sense that proportionately more of them chose this means.

There are strong indications that American culture places a premium on getting things done through individual effort. Individual effort often is given approval over group effort. The culture tends to deny the importance of structural features or individual differences in achievement and performance. It is not too surprising then that adolescents emphasize means to ends which require individual effort. And at the same time they are less likely to choose means to cultural goals as the BEST means to get ahead when these means either implicitly or explicitly recognize differences in individual abilities or in life situations. These effects of cultural emphasis are also seen in the willingness of adolescents, particularly boys, to agree that they are willing to give up a lot of things they really want to do to get ahead in life. And, adolescents, their behavior to the contrary, agree that "Young people should make every spare minute of their spare time count if they expect to get a good job."

More than nine of every 10 adolescents see both religion and athletic activity as important means to goals. They believe on the whole that athletic sports teach one how to get along with others and, that religion helps one in trouble, in getting along from day to day and to be a "better person than I really am."

Illegitimate means to cultural goals are at least thought of as permissible by a sizeable minority of all adolescents. The end justifies the means for this minority of adolescents, though the minority is composed of more white boys than of members of any other race-sex subgroup. Boys in particular are likely to condone illegitimate means for making money such as making money in a gambling business, in a racket, by charging more than something is worth if people are willing to pay the price or by not telling the whole truth about what one is selling. Adolescents are not very likely to sanction strongly proscribed means such as stealing, but again white boys are more likely to think they are all right, particularly if others are doing it or if the situation permits them to justify their behavior.

There seems little doubt that a majority of adolescents are not very firmly attached to the norms about honesty in the classroom examination. A majority of all boys and girls say they would help a friend cheat and a third of them say that it is perfectly all right for their friend to expect them to help them in a situation which would essentially be defined as a cheating situation. Peer expectations are placed above adult expectations in such a situation for many boys and girls.

Finally, we explored the extent to which adolescents in our society may be thought of as more responsive to peer than to adult controls. Are they essentially "peer directed" rather than "self directed either because of a commitment to moral rights or because they manage their own destiny? A majority of all white boys say that "You have to go along with what your group wants or be left out of everything" and almost a majority of all Negro boys accept this statement. Morality appears to be that of the group for atleast half of all boys. Proportionately fewer of the girls than of the boys say they would follow the group however, particularly in situations involving choice of group versus moral standards or parents.

Chapter IV

Variation in Dropout and Truant Conduct by the Social Status Position of Pupils and the Social Status Contexts of Schools

Sociologists have developed a theoretical approach to the study of conforming and nonconforming conduct in which the aim is to discover "how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain conforming persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct."[1] This approach can be generalized to say that sociologists are interested in learning how social structures influence the conduct and subjective states of human beings.

Social structures operate to define the social situations in which human beings normally find themselves. One of the more pervasive social structures in American Society is its system of social stratification. The behavior expected in a particular situation is defined by the status perspective of the member. We shall therefore consider in this section how the social status structure of American Society, as defined by occupational status, influences conforming and deviating behavior and values related to conduct.

The pervasiveness of a system of social stratification on behavior is easily demonstrated in this chapter. There is considerable variation in attitudes, assessment of norms, and conduct by social status position of subjects. An individual experiences status however within a particular environment or context of status positions. Hollingshead and others have demonstrated that the American public school is an arena for the exercise of the status generated in the larger community or society.[2] While this macrocosmic status system is ameliorated in part by adolescent values, the status system for adolescents tends for the most part to be a microcosm of the larger social macrocosm of social stratification.

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[1] Robert Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie" in _Social Theory and Social Structure_, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957 (Revised edition) p. 132.

There has been relatively little investigation of the influence which the context or environment of status positions has upon the behavior of persons independent of the effect of the status position in the larger social macrocosm. The social status backgrounds of students impart a social status structure to each school, such that there is considerable variation in the status structures of schools. Some schools are comprised almost entirely of students from nuclear families in the top status groups in American Society while others are made up largely of students from families in the bottom status groups. Still other schools tend to have a status structure which is representative of the status structure of the larger society. An important question is, does one's conduct and performance vary with the social status composition of the school one attends as well as with the general position one's family has in American Society? This question is investigated at some length in this chapter.

The Measurement of the Social Status of Adolescents and of Social Status Contexts of Schools.

There is no single standardized measure of social status. In this analysis we define the social status of an adolescent in terms of the status of the child's father. Father's current occupation is the operational definition of social status. Where it was not possible to operationally use father's occupation, data on mother's occupation, employment, and father and mother's education are utilized to place the child in one of the three major

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2/ August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1949, Part III.

status groups: high, middle, and low (occupational) status.

The status structure is operationally defined in terms of a revised North-Hatt prestige structure of occupations. The following specific definitions were set up:

> Low Status: All laborers, including farm, operatives and kindred workers, service workers (except protective service workers), peddlers and door-to-door salesmen (usually classified as sales workers), and farmers who rent or operate for shares.
>
> Middle Status: All craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, farm owners and managers, clerical and kindred workers, service workers, managers and proprietors of small business, sales workers of wholesale and of retail stores, and "professional" technicians.
>
> High Status: All managers, officials and proprietors not included in middle status; professional and semi-professional workers not included in middle status, and salesworkers in finance, insurance and real estate.

Only three main categories of social status are used in the analysis of data presented in this chapter since occupational status is controlled within each school social status context. A larger number of social status categories would reduce the sampling reliability of status groups within contexts considerably.

Occupational status is assigned each child on the basis of the occupation of the father. Where several children are from the same nuclear family and enrolled in school, each child is assigned the status of the same father. For this reason, the status structure of a community based on the occupational status of the father is somewhat different from the status structure of all students based on their father's occupation. Differences in the birth rate, child spacing and proportion of children enrolled in school, among other factors, of social status groups result in a somewhat different status structure for the population of children than for the population of their fathers. In general, since the birth rate of the lower status women is higher than that of higher status women, the children of lower status families are more closely spaced and more of the lower status families are likely to have at least one child enrolled in school at a particular time, lower status children are overrepresented in a population of children as compared with the population of their fathers. While 46 per cent of all fathers in the Nashville SMA hold white collar positions, only 40 per cent of the children enrolled in school come from white collar families.[3]

The operational definition of a social status structure of a school context was derived by aggregating the status position of pupils. Eight types of social status context were defined in this way and more than one school was found for each of the eight contexts.[4]

1. Upper and Upper Middle Status Context: Approximately 60 per cent of all students have fathers classified as old or new professionals, managers, officials and proprietors, and 90 per cent are from white collar origins; (6 white schools).

2. Balanced Upper and Lower Middle Status Context: Approximately 90 per cent are from white collar origins with roughly an equal balance between top and bottom white collar occupations; (6 white schools).

Crescent Social Status Structure Criterion: The occupational distribution is generally within 5 per cent of the distribution for all schools on each of 10 major occupation groups: old and new professionals; proprietors or self-employed; managers and officials, quasi- or semi-professionals; clerical and kindred workers; sales workers; craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers; protective service workers; operatives and kindred workers; and laborers and service workers, except protective.[5]

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[3] Our determination of the social status structure of a community on the basis of father's occupation rests on an assumption of some stratification theories that the family is the least reducible unit for the assignment of status. It nonetheless is true that the status structure of the community viewed in terms of the aggregated status of all individuals, given the assignment of the family status to each, generally differs from the structure of the community viewed solely in terms of the nuclear family. The social status structure of the school context perhaps derives its composition as much from the aggregate of individual statuses as it does from the aggregation of nuclear family statuses.

[4] For purposes of analysis in this chapter a school is not the contextual unit of analysis. Rather, each context is an aggregation of schools homogeneous with respect to the context characteristics. Were it not for the fact that a single school usually is too small for partial association analysis, we could examine the hypotheses within 45 white and 8 Negro schools.

3. Crosscut Social Status Structure: Overrepresentation at Top Context: Crosscut criterion, plus 15 per cent more than expected in top two occupation groups of the four major occupation groups; (7 white schools).

4. Crosscut Social Status Structure: Overrepresentation at Center Context: Crosscut criterion, plus 15 per cent excess in two center occupation groups of the four major occupation categories; (4 white schools).

5. Representative of All Schools Context: Within two per cent of the distribution for all schools; (4 white schools).

6. Crosscut Social Status Structure: Overrepresentation at Bottom Context: Crosscut criterion, plus 15 per cent excess in two bottom groups of four major occupation groups; (7 white schools and 1 Negro school).

7. Lower Social Status Context: Approximately 75 per cent are in blue collar occupations with 50 per cent in the lowest of the four major occupation groups; (5 white schools and 7 Negro schools).

8. Rural Nonfarm and Rural Farm Social Status Context: Crosscut criterion, with at least 25 per cent of all students from Rural Nonfarm (RNF) or Rural Farm (RF) residence; (6 white schools).

In classifying individual school contexts into aggregated school contexts we were able to classify school contexts within aggregated contexts so as to satisfactorily meet all criteria established for a school context except in the case of schools classified into the Crosscut/Center context (Tables IV-1 and IV-2). The aggregated occupational structure for these school contexts shows somewhat more concentration in the lower status occupation groups than the context criterion would allow. It should be noted here too that aggregation of the Crosscut/Center context schools has some additional elements of heterogeneity as compared with other schools.[6] One of the schools in this aggregation is the SMA vocational school. It therefore is not confined to as local a territory for its student population as are the other schools.[7] Another of the schools is the only senior high school for a very large area which crosscuts the social status structure, while a third is a long established city school at the urban fringe. The elements of heterogeneity induced by these considerations make the aggregation less homogeneous than we believe is the case for our other contexts.

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[5] This is obviously a very rough criterion since the occupation groups differ considerably in proportionate size. Thus it is much less likely that protective service workers will vary by as much as five per cent for any context (in fact, it does not) while it is much more likely that operatives and kindred workers will vary by as much as five per cent (there is considerable context variation).

[6] Insofar as possible, the ratio of Junior (7, 8, 9 grades) to Senior (10,

The extent to which the population in each of the school contexts differs from that of all schools can be crudely expressed by the coefficient of dissimilarity. Table IV-3 presents the coefficients of dissimilarity for each of the eight school contexts. The coefficients are derived from a comparison of the per cent distributions for the 10 major occupation groups in each of the contexts with the per cent distribution for all schools of the SMA. The coefficient of dissimilarity is a particularly crude measure of difference here, since the size of the coefficient is influenced by the relative distribution in each of the 10 major occupation groups. Nonetheless, it gives us a crude expression of how the population in a given context would have to be redistributed if its occupational composition was to be like that of all schools. Examining Table IV-3, we can see that the Representative of All Schools context is, as expected, most similar to the distribution for all schools, while the Upper and Upper Middle Status context diverges the most, with the Middle context and the Lower context following in that order.

11, 12 grades) high school pupils was equated for all contexts. But it was not possible to control type of Junior-Senior high arrangement since most of the usual combinations of grades in a school are found in our two school systems.

[7] Most of the vocational high school students are drawn from Nashville city, however, and disproportionately from certain districts of Nashville city.

TABLE IV-1 : -- PER CENT OF FATHERS IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP FOR EIGHT TYPES OF SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURE (BASED ON OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION) AND PER CENT OF FATHERS IN A GIVEN OCCUPATION WHO ARE IN EACH TYPE OF SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURE: BY SEX

BOYS:

Per Cent Distribution by School Social Status Structure

School Social Status Structures	Major Occupation Group												
	Service Except. Prot. & Lab.	Ops. & Kind.	Prot. Serv.	Craft. & Foremen	Sales	Clerical & Kind.	Quasi- & Semi-Prof.	Mgrs. & Offs.	Props. or Self Emp.	Old & New Prof.	Sub-Total	Unemp. or Not in Labor Force	Total
Upper & Upper Middle	0.8	0.8	0.5	4.0	20.5	1.8	5.8	24.5	14.9	26.5	100.0	5.7	420
Balanced Upper & Lower Middle	0.7	3.5	0.5	10.1	23.8	6.6	8.5	23.4	7.1	15.8	100.0	14.4	703
Crosscut/Top	3.2	14.5	2.1	24.4	16.3	5.9	6.2	12.9	5.3	9.3	100.1	12.8	1975
Crosscut/Center	7.4	22.7	1.6	35.2	9.2	5.6	3.7	6.1	5.0	3.3	100.0	8.5	764
Represent of All	4.7	27.9	1.9	27.9	11.5	3.9	4.1	9.5	3.7	4.8	99.9	10.9	905
Crosscut/Bottom	7.1	33.2	2.7	32.5	7.2	3.8	2.4	5.5	3.4	2.3	100.1	13.0	2158
Lower	10.0	41.6	1.8	31.8	4.9	2.2	1.1	1.7	4.2	0.7	100.0	7.6	821
RNF & NF	5.5	35.7	1.9	31.8	6.9	3.8	2.8	5.9	3.3	2.4	100.0	13.7	977
All Schools													
Number	405	1886	147	2076	888	337	314	746	382	489	7670	1053	8723
Per Cent	5.3	24.6	1.9	27.1	11.6	4.4	4.1	9.7	5.0	6.4	100.1	12.1	
	Per Cent Distribution by Occupation												
Upper & Upper Middle	0.7	0.2	1.4	0.8	9.1	2.1	7.3	13.0	15.4	21.5	5.2	2.3	4.8
Balanced Middle	1.0	1.1	2.0	3.0	16.1	11.9	16.2	18.9	11.3	19.4	7.8	9.6	8.1
Crosscut/Top	13.6	13.2	24.5	20.2	31.6	30.0	33.7	29.9	24.1	32.7	22.5	23.9	22.6
Crosscut/Center	12.8	8.4	7.5	11.8	7.2	11.6	8.3	5.9	9.2	4.7	9.1	6.2	8.8
Represent of All	9.1	11.7	10.2	10.6	10.3	9.2	10.2	10.1	7.6	7.8	10.3	11.1	10.4
Crosscut/Bottom	32.6	32.7	34.0	29.1	15.0	20.8	14.0	13.8	16.8	8.8	24.2	28.3	24.7
Lower	18.8	16.7	9.5	11.6	4.2	5.0	2.5	1.7	8.3	1.0	9.9	5.9	9.4
RNF & NF	11.4	16.0	10.9	12.9	6.5	9.4	7.7	6.7	7.3	4.1	11.0	12.7	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IV-1 : -- PER CENT OF FATHERS IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP FOR EIGHT TYPES OF SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURE (BASED ON OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION) AND PER CENT OF FATHERS IN A GIVEN OCCUPATION WHO ARE IN EACH TYPE OF SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURE: BY SEX (continued)

GIRLS:

School Social Status Structures	Service Except. Prot. & Lab.	Ops. & Kind.	Prot. Serv.	Craft. & Foremen	Sales	Clerical & Kind.	Quasi- & Semi-Prof.	Mgrs. & Offs.	Props. or Self Emp.	Old & New Prof.	Sub-Total	Unemp. or Not in Labor Force	Total
	Per Cent Distribution by School Social Status Structure												
Upper & Upper Middle	0.4	1.4	0.4	5.1	22.2	2.9	5.5	27.6	7.3	27.2	100.0	4.2	287
Balanced Upper & Lower Middle	0.1	3.5	1.1	6.8	21.7	3.9	7.2	30.0	7.1	18.6	100.0	6.7	787
Crescent/Top	2.0	15.4	2.1	25.7	14.2	6.7	6.4	15.3	6.0	6.2	100.0	9.0	1824
Crescent/Center	7.3	28.1	2.1	32.4	7.5	4.7	2.4	5.5	7.9	2.1	100.0	7.2	809
Represent of All	4.8	24.0	2.0	30.8	10.7	5.3	4.1	8.3	5.3	4.6	100.0	9.3	915
Crescent/Bottom	7.0	31.2	1.8	36.9	6.5	4.2	1.5	5.4	3.6	1.9	100.0	9.2	2167
Lower	10.5	38.9	4.7	29.3	5.4	2.1	0.9	2.4	4.7	0.9	100.0	7.4	802
RNF & RF	4.5	33.6	[illegible]	37.5	5.6	5.5	2.6	4.9	2.1	1.6	100.0	9.3	986
All Schools													
Number	387	1900	166	2268	818	375	287	828	400	426	7855	722	8577
Per Cent	4.9	24.2	2.1	28.9	10.4	4.8	3.6	10.6	5.1	5.4	100.0	8.4	
	Per Cent Distribution by Occupation												
Upper & Upper Middle	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	7.5	2.1	5.2	9.2	5.0	27.6	3.5	1.7	3.3
Balanced Middle	0.3	1.4	4.8	2.2	19.4	7.8	18.5	26.6	13.0	31.9	9.3	7.3	9.2
Crescent/Top	8.8	13.5	21.1	18.8	28.9	29.6	37.3	30.7	24.8	23.9	21.1	22.7	21.3
Crescent/Center	14.2	11.1	9.6	10.7	6.8	9.3	6.3	4.9	15.0	3.8	9.6	8.0	9.4
Represent of All	10.3	10.5	10.2	11.3	10.9	11.7	11.8	8.3	11.0	8.8	10.6	11.8	10.7
Crescent/Bottom	35.7	32.4	21.1	32.0	15.5	22.1	10.5	12.8	17.8	8.9	25.1	27.6	25.3
Lower	20.2	15.2	21.1	9.6	4.9	4.3	2.4	2.2	6.7	1.6	9.4	8.2	9.3
RNF & RF	10.3	15.8	11.5	14.8	6.1	13.1	8.0	5.3	4.7	3.5	11.4	12.7	11.5
Total	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IV-2: -- PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION (FATHER'S OCCUPATION) FOR EIGHT TYPES OF SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES

School Social Status Structure	Major Occupational Strata					
	Old and New Prof., Props., Mgr. and Off.	Quasi and Semi-Prof., Cler. and Kind., and Sales	Top Blue Collar	Lower Blue Collar	Total	
					Number	Per Cent
Upper & Upper Middle	64.4	29.1	4.9	1.6	671	4.3
Balanced Middle	51.4	35.6	9.1	3.9	1336	8.6
Crescent/Top	27.5	27.8	27.1	17.6	3383	21.8
Crescent/Center	15.1	16.4	35.6	32.9	1450	9.3
Represent of All	18.1	19.8	31.4	30.7	1618	10.4
Crescent/Bottom	11.1	12.7	37.0	39.2	3828	24.7
Lower	7.3	8.3	33.8	50.6	1502	9.7
RNF & RF	10.1	13.6	36.7	39.6	1737	11.2
All Schools	21.1	19.5	30.0	29.4	15525	100.0

TABLE IV-3: -- COEFFICIENTS OF DISSIMILARITY BETWEEN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE (BASED ON FATHER'S OCCUPATION) OF ALL SCHOOLS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF EIGHT TYPES OF SCHOOL OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES: BOYS AND GIRLS

School Social Status Structure	Sex	
	Boys	Girls
Upper & Upper Middle	55.4	54.7
Balanced Middle	44.1	49.5
Crosscut/Top	14.9	14.9
Crosscut/Center	11.5	12.1
Represent of all	4.2	3.5
Crosscut/Bottom	16.6	19.1
Lower	25.9	23.0
RNF & RF	15.4	18.7
Total	0.0	0.0

Our population of students is distributed disproportionately by our eight social status contexts as Tables IV-1 and IV-2 show. In general, this is a function of the occupational distribution for all schools in the SMA. There are relatively fewer pupils in those contexts which are characterized by occupations which are relatively less frequent in the population and more in those contexts which are characterized by occupations which predominate in the overall structure. The smallest proportion of pupils thus is found in Upper and Upper Middle Status Contexts (4.3 per cent, IV-2), while the largest proportion is found in the Crosscut/Bottom context (24.7 per cent, IV-2).

We are able to demonstrate in this chapter that there is considerable variation by social status context as well as by the social status of subjects. The interpretation of this variation poses special problems particularly when one is attempting to isolate a complex sequence of causation. We shall now discuss a number of such problems of causal interpretation.

There is first of all a measurement problem of whether the variation by context is anything more than the variation by status groups within context. We try to assess context variation independent of status variation by controlling social status within each context. Unfortunately even with our large student population, when we deal with eight contexts, we are unable generally to control on more than three social status groups within each context: high, middle and low occupational status. In two of the contexts--Crosscut/Top and Crosscut/Bottom we are able to institute more status control since the number of subjects is 20 to 25 per cent of the total population. The possibility exists that what we attribute to context variation may be an artifiact of our measurement. More refined status measurement within each context might account for all of the context variation observed. While there is some risk then in assuming that we have considerable context variation independent of social status variation, the pattern of variation observed when social context variation is examined within each status group suggests this is not altogether the case.

There is a second measurement problem related to this first one. We have reason to believe that our high middle and low status groups within each context are not altogether comparable. Put in another way, we have reason to expect that the low status persons in an Upper and Upper Middle Context are not a random selection of low status persons. To the extent that this is the case, we are not observing simple status variation within each context; the context itself is selective of low status persons.

This same measurement problem can be looked at in another way. Can we assume that each context covers the full range of status from top to bottom? The answer is, probably not. This means then that our contexts differ not only in the sense that there are differences in the aggregated occupational distributions for contexts, what in social stratification terms we speak of as the *shape* of the distribution, but that they differ as well in *span*. When we speak of context variation then we generally are unable to separate the effects of span from those of shape.

There is a third measurement problem which stems from our operational definition of social status context. Operationally the context is defined in terms of aggregated distributions of occupations for a number of schools. We assume that what variation we observe then is largely a function of differences in span and shape of the distribution, which in turn "causes" differences in climate or atmosphere (intervening), which then "causes" variation in normative orientation and conduct. Since our contexts are schools, however, we know that they represent a special kind of territorial organization in American Society. Thus our observed differences among contexts may be altogether a function of differences in some other element of social organization in these territories--differences in the organizations of neighborhoods or communities, for example,--rather than a function of differences in the social status structures of schools. There is reason to believe however that the stratification system in these areas similarly is a causal factor in the community, but we would need a very complex research design to demonstrate that this is the case. For example, we would need to examine variation by school within the same community, with social class differences controlled.

There is a related measurement problem stemming from the fact that we aggregate a number of school contexts with the same social status context and treat them as a type of school social status context. Would we always observe the same variation within each school context that we observe within the aggregated context? If not, then factors other than the social status structure of the school are inducing some, if not all, of the variation. We shall show later that the rate of truancy and dropout for the eight social status contexts does not hold for all of the schools within some of the contexts. Other factors obviously are inducing some of the observed variation.

The problem of imputing causality when context variation is observed is largely a problem of causal imputation in a methodological sense. There are a number of special problems however related to it as our discussion of measurement problems shows. Several schools with the same kind of social status distribution are aggregated--an aggregation of contexts. But is it variation in social status or in some characteristics imperfectly correlated with social status variation which causes the differences in structure and climate?

The degree to which occupational status varies within our school social status contexts (measured here by aggregating occupational status distributions for schools) is seen in Table IV-4. Within our Upper and Upper Middle context, for example, only roughly two per cent of all students in the context are of low occupational status and these represent less than 0.2 per cent of all low occupational status subjects. The Lower Status context has roughly seven per cent of its students in high status occupations with these representing only three per cent of all high status boys and girls. These figures may be contrasted with the fact that 21 per cent of all subjects are of high status while 28 per cent are of low occupational status.

Further examination of Table IV-4 shows that despite the fact that there are 18,157 white boys and girls in the population, in some context-status groups there are fewer than 100 subjects. There are in fact only 6 boys and 7 girls of low occupational status in the Upper and Upper Middle context. These appear to represent a select population of lower status subjects. Two of the boys, for instance, are sons of a laborer on the highest status golf course of the SMA. Most of the status-context groups have a sufficiently large number of cases to permit statistically reliable comparisons, however.

The order in which we list the eight social status contexts of schools suggests a rank order for the contexts. In general, one would expect that the prestige of a school context would be a function of the span and shape of its system of social stratification. On this basis we would obtain the rank order of contexts presented in the tables with Upper and Upper Middle schools having the highest prestige and Lower status schools having the lowest prestige. The Balanced Middle, Crosscut/Top, Crosscut/Center, Representative of All, and Crosscut/Bottom contexts should have ranks intermediate to these, and in that order. It is difficult to rank the Rural Nonfarm and Rural Farm context in this prestige structure. For this reason, it is placed at the bottom of each table. It's position in the table does not imply that it has the lowest prestige position.

The Measurement of Deviating Behavior in Social Status Contexts.

One object of our investigation is to analyze deviating behavior within social status groups and school contexts based on social status. A

TABLE IV-4: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF SUBJECTS IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION DIVISION BY SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES AND PER CENT OF SUBJECTS IN EACH SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURE BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION

School Social Status Context	Total		Major Occupational Division							
			High		Middle		Low		No. Info.	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Upper & Upper Middle	726	100.0	500	68.9	184	25.3	13	1.8	29	4.0
Balanced Middle	1575	100.0	903	57.3	580	36.8	72	4.6	20	1.3
Crosscut/Top	4027	100.0	1092	27.1	2027	50.3	723	17.9	192	4.7
Crosscut/Center	1620	100.0	230	14.2	886	54.7	486	30.0	19	1.1
Represent of All	1919	100.0	330	17.2	935	48.7	567	29.6	87	4.5
Crosscut/Bottom	4520	100.0	450	9.9	2191	48.5	1762	39.0	117	2.6
Lower	1672	100.0	118	7.1	826	49.4	690	41.3	38	2.2
RNF & RF	2098	100.0	200	9.5	984	46.9	862	41.1	52	2.5
Total	18157	100.0	3823	21.1	8612	47.4	5168	28.5	554	3.0

Per Cent Distribution by School Social Status Structure

	Total	High	Middle	Low	No. Info.
Upper & Upper Middle	4.0	13.1	2.1	0.2	5.2
Balanced Middle	8.7	23.6	6.7	1.4	3.6
Crosscut/Top	22.2	28.6	23.5	14.0	34.7
Crosscut/Center	8.9	6.0	10.3	9.4	3.4
Represent of All	10.6	8.6	10.9	10.9	15.7
Crosscut/Bottom	24.9	11.8	25.4	34.1	21.1
Lower	9.2	3.1	9.6	13.3	6.9
RNF & RF	11.5	5.2	11.5	16.7	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

further object of our investigation is to learn whether there is variation in the way deviators and conformers respond to norms and goals of our society by the school social status context in which they are found. There are a number of measurement problems which arise in connection with these investigations.

First, there is a problem of defining the deviating class of conduct in such a way as to learn whether a particular status group or context is more likely to generate that kind of conduct. In this chapter we examine two types of deviators whose conduct is defined in terms of educational institutional norms: dropouts from school and truants from school.

The question of whether one status group or context is more likely to generate truancy or dropout from school is related to the specific way in which we measure the deviating behavior. There are three types of rates we can compute for a status group or context. The first of these is an incidence rate. Here we would determine the amount of deviating behavior in the population of each status group or context which arises for the first time in a given period of time. The second is a prevalence rate, and here we would determine the amount of deviating behavior which occurs in the population of a class or context in a given period of time. In addition to any new cases occurring in this period of time, all cases which either occurred again or continued into the period from a previous time are included in the measure. The third type of rate we may call an experience rate. This measures the amount of deviating behavior which the population of a class or context has ever produced. Here all cases of the deviating behavior experienced by the population are included in the measure. In general, of course, incidence statistics should produce the lowest rate for a population and experience statistics the highest rate.

The operational measure for a dropout rate in this study is that of incidence. We premeasured our population and then observed all dropouts from that population during the next school year. We thus have the incidence of dropouts for each status group and context. In the case of dropouts from school, the incidence rate should be very close to a prevalence rate since there are relatively few dropouts who reenter school and drop out again.

The operational measure for truancy is a prevalence statistic. We considered as truants only those boys and girls who were classified as having truant conduct during the school year following the premeasurement of the population. Many of our cases of truancy had a history of truancy extending over a long period of time. At the same time we know that a fairly large number of boys and girls had been truant in the past but were not known to be truant within the school year we observed truant conduct. It should be clear then that our analysis of truancy can neither answer the question, "Is one context more likely to generate truancy than another context?" since it is quite possible that truancy is more likely to persist in one context than another, nor can it conclusively answer questions relating to comparisons of persons who have experienced truancy versus those who have not experienced it.

There are some additional measurement problems concerning whether or not we have observed all cases of dropout or truant conduct within the period. We have reason to believe that our dropout subjects comprise almost 100 per cent of all dropouts during the one year period. Yet we recognize that it is possible that some students who moved from the SMA dropped from school with their residential move. Likewise, some boys who were institutionalized for truancy may not return to school on their release so that they may technically be considered as dropouts in the period.

Our measure of the prevalence of truancy undoubtedly is less than 100 per cent, through precisely how much less, we cannot say. This is due in part to the difficulty of measuring truancy but also due to the fact that our two school systems did not measure it in the same way and our private and parochial schools failed to treat it as problematic, even though state laws require them to treat it as problematic conduct. The effect of these latter biases is to underestimate prevalence in upper status groups and contexts. The difficulties in measuring truancy stem from the application of the concept to define observed behavior for a student. When is a student ill rather than truant, and so on. Our prevalence statistics on truancy then include only those cases which school officials and/or attendance officers of the respective school systems defined as truant under their operating policies.

The Incidence of Dropout by School Social Status Context Variation.

There is a small sex variation in the incidence of dropout from school. The rate per 100 pupils is slightly greater (2.4) for girls than boys (2.2). Somewhat greater variation in dropout is observed for the three major social status groups in Table IV-5. The dropout rate varies from a low of 1.0 per 100 high status boys to a rate of 1.9 for middle status boys and a high of 3.3 for low status boys. Similarly, the rate of dropout for girls range from a low of 1.1 per 100 high status girls to 2.4 for middle status girls, and a high of 3.2 for low status girls.

There is substantially greater variation in the incidence of dropout by school context as Table IV-5 shows. For boys and girls the rate is lowest in the Upper and Upper Middle Context and highest in the Lower Context. Roughly 6 of every 100 boys and 7 of every 100 girls leave school in a single year from the Lower Context.

The incidence of dropout is generally low for the schools with a high proportion of high status students. Thus in the Upper and Upper Middle, Balanced Middle and Crosscut/Top contexts, the rate is less than one-half per 100 enrolled male and female students in a given year. And it is only slightly greater in the Representative of All schools context. The two contexts with concentrations of lower status students are much more productive of dropouts, but there is a surprising difference between the Lower context and the Crosscut/Bottom context as Table IV-5 shows. The Crosscut/Bottom context has a rate only roughly one-third of that in the Lower context.

Most surprising of all though is the high incidence of dropout in the Crosscut/Center context. The dropout rate is roughly that of the Lower context and far greater than that expected on the basis of its social status composition. To explain this unexpectedly high rate, we turned to see whether the rate was roughly the same in all senior high schools in the context, and it is not. Two of the senior high schools account for the unexpectedly high rate--the vocational and technical high school for the SMA and a high school which serves a large territory which crosscuts the status structure. The two other schools in the context have rates very much like that of the Crosscut/Top schools.

An ad hoc explanation for the high rate of dropout in two of the four Crosscut/Center schools is that the selective recruitment of students in both these schools account for their high dropout rate. The vocational and technical school selects essentially two types of students--those who are genuinely motivated toward vocational goals for which the high school offers preparation and those who enter because they wish to escape a regular academic program. The dropout rate among the latter group is particularly high. One might say then that the vocational and technical school is unusually selective of potential dropouts from all other contexts. This selectivity, of course, has a depressing effect on the dropout rate of school districts where the vocational and technical school dropout resides. The second Center context school with a high dropout rate is a senior high school drawing its students from a Representative of All, a Crosscut/Bottom and a Lower Status context. The occupational composition of the Crosscut/Center context ranks higher in prestige than any of its three feeder schools. The reason why the senior high school has a higher occupational prestige composition than that of its three feeder schools is the selective nature of dropouts from the feeder schools before transfer to senior high school and the continuing selectivity of dropouts after transfer. Lower status subjects are selectively eliminated by dropout to such a degree that the overall status composition of the senior high school becomes that of a Crosscut/Center school. Among all junior high schools in fact, these three feeder high schools are among the highest in dropout rate. But as Table IV-7 shows, the high dropout rate in these schools is not limited solely to the low status subjects. High status subjects in the Crosscut/Center schools have the highest rate of dropout of high status subjects in any context group. Other factors are therefore in operation to produce the observed net effect.

The incidence of dropout for girls is either equal to or greater than that of boys in all school social status contexts except that of the RNF and RF context. The rate for boys in the RNF and RF context is 2.2 as compared with a rate of 1.3 per 100 enrolled among girls. This finding at least is in keeping with the oftmade observation that the rural farm boy is more likely to leave school than is the rural farm girl.

The Prevalence of Truancy by School Social Status Context Variation.

There is a substantial sex difference in the *prevalence* of truancy. The rate per 100 enrolled is twice as high for boys (3.0) as for girls (1.5).

Somewhat greater variation is found for the three social status groups, the rates varying from a low of 0.7 for 100 high status boys to 2.7 for middle status boys and a high of 5.1 for low status boys. Similarly, the truancy rate for girls ranges from a low of 0.8 for 100 high status girls to 1.3 for middle status girls and a high of 2.5 for low status girls.

Substantially greater variation in the prevalence of truancy occurs for school contexts as Table IV-6 shows. For boys and girls, the rate is lowest in the Upper and Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts and highest in the Lower context. For boys, the rate is somewhat greater in the Upper and Upper Middle than in the Balanced Middle context, suggesting that the so-called "solid middle status group" has the lowest rate of truancy. Roughly eleven of every 100 boys and 5 of every 100 girls in the Lower status context are truant at least once in a school year.

As is the case for the incidence of dropout statistics, the prevalence of truancy is much greater in the Lower status context than in the Crosscut/Bottom context. This is particularly evident for boys. Only about 4 of every 100 boys in the Crosscut/Bottom school context are truant as contrasted with 11 of every 100 in the Lower status school context. The difference is smaller but evident also for girls.

Structural Concentration of Dropouts and Truants. School officials and attendance officers are aware of the fact that there are relatively more dropouts and truants from some schools than from others within their school system. They are aware too that generally a school with a high dropout rate is one with a relatively high truancy rate. Explanations of these differences are offered most usually in terms of the type of students in these schools--particularly in terms of "undesirable characteristics" of the students and their families. They also may characterize these schools as "less desirable"

TABLE IV-5: -- RATE OF DROPOUT PER 100 ENROLLED, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DROPOUTS BY SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS CONTEXTS, FOR BOYS AND GIRLS: 1957 SCHOOL YEAR

School Social Status Structure	Boys						Girls					
	Drop-out	Not Drop	Total	Rate Per 100	% All Drops	% Total Pop.	Drop-out	Not Drop	Total	Rate Per 100	% All Drops	% Total Pop.
Upper & Upper Middle	1	434	435	0.2	0.5	4.7	1	290	291	0.2	0.5	3.3
Balanced Middle	4	746	750	0.5	2.0	8.1	4	821	825	0.5	1.9	9.3
Crosscut/Top	9	2103	2112	0.4	4.5	22.9	6	1909	1915	0.3	2.8	21.4
Crosscut/Center	49	750	797	6.1	24.6	8.6	52	771	823	6.3	24.6	9.2
Represent of All	7	957	963	0.7	3.5	10.4	12	944	956	1.2	5.7	10.7
Crosscut/Bottom	58	2219	2262	2.6	29.1	24.5	61	2197	2258	2.7	28.9	25.3
Lower	48	797	845	5.7	24.1	9.2	62	765	827	7.5	29.4	9.3
RF & RNF	23	1045	1068	2.2	11.7	11.6	13	1017	1030	1.3	6.2	11.5
Total	199	9051	9232	2.2	100.0	100.0	211	8714	8925	2.4	100.0	100.0

TABLE IV-6: -- RATE OF TRUANCY PER 100 ENROLLED, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TRUANTS BY SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS CONTEXTS, FOR BOYS AND GIRLS: 1957 SCHOOL YEAR

School Social Status Structure	Boys						Girls					
	No. of Truants	No. of Not. Truant	Total	Rate Per 100	% All Truants	% Total Pop.	No. of Truants	No. of Not Truant	Total	Rate Per 100	% All Truants	% Total Pop.
Upper & Upper Middle	3	432	435	.7	1.1	4.7	--	291	291	0.0	--	3.3
Balanced Middle	2	748	750	.3	0.7	8.1	--	825	825	0.0	--	9.3
Crosscut/Top	23	2089	2112	1.1	8.4	22.9	9	1906	1915	0.4	6.6	21.4
Crosscut/Center	7	790	797	.9	2.5	8.6	4	819	823	0.5	2.9	9.2
Represent of All	18	945	963	1.9	6.6	10.4	8	948	956	0.8	5.8	10.7
Crosscut/Bottom	98	2164	2262	4.3	35.8	24.5	72	2186	2258	3.2	52.6	25.3
Lower	92	753	845	10.9	33.6	9.2	37	790	827	4.5	27.0	9.3
RNF & RF	31	1790	1068	2.9	11.3	11.6	7	1023	1030	0.7	5.1	11.5
Total	274	8958	9232	3.0	100.0	100.0	137	8788	8925	1.5	100.0	100.0

in other terms: the children are not as motivated toward the ideals of the school, teachers don't like to instruct in them, or that the rate of teacher transfer application from such schools is high. How justified are they in holding such views?

We can see from Tables IV-5 and IV-6 that the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy is highest in the Crosscut/Bottom and Lower status contexts. Both of these contexts however have high proportions of lower status students but they are not, in our case at least, composed exclusively of lower status students. They have middle and high status students as well. Bearing this in mind, we reach the surprising conclusion that the lower status boy or girl is far more likely to drop from school or be truant if they go to a school in a Lower status context than if they attend a Crosscut/Bottom school (Tables IV-7 and 8). In fact, for boys, the incidence of dropout is only half as great (6.5 : 2.9) in the Crosscut/Bottom as in the Lower context. Similarly, the prevalence of truancy is less than half as great (12.2 : 4.7) in the Crosscut/Bottom context.

Tables IV-7 and 8 further show that there is considerable variation in the dropout and truancy rates by status groups within each of the eight school contexts. Tables IV-7 and 8 permit us to ask the question whether the social status context exerts an effect on the dropout and truancy rates of status groups. The information in the tables strongly suggest that there is a rather substantial context effect independent of status group effects.

In Table IV-7 we observe that high status subjects have a dropout rate of 1.0 for boys and 1.1 for girls. Yet none of the high status subjects in Upper and Upper Middle Schools left school during the year while the rate for high status boys in Crosscut/Bottom schools, for example, was 2.5 and that for girls in this context was 3.7. Similarly, if we look at low status subjects, none of the low status subjects in either the Upper Middle or Balanced Middle

TABLE IV-7: -- RATE OF DROPOUT PER 100 ENROLLED BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS CONTEXTS, FOR BOYS AND GIRLS: 1957 SCHOOL YEAR

School Social Status Context	Occupational Status of Father*											
	High				Middle				Low			
	Drop	Not Drop	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	Drop	Not Drop	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	Drop	Not Drop	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100
Boys												
Upper & Upper Middle	--	293	293	0.0	1	108	109	0.9	--	6	6	0.0
Balanced Middle	2	338	340	0.6	2	307	309	0.6	--	36	36	0.0
Crosscut/Top	1	614	615	0.2	7	1030	1037	0.7	1	371	372	0.3
Crosscut/Center	8	109	117	6.8	22	426	448	4.9	19	198	215	8.8
Represent of All	--	160	160	0.0	4	436	450	0.9	3	292	295	1.0
Crosscut/Bottom	6	231	237	2.5	21	1010	1031	2.0	27	884	911	2.9
Lower	1	52	53	1.9	22	402	424	5.2	23	329	352	6.5
RNF & RF	1	107	108	0.9	4	457	461	0.9	15	440	455	3.3
Total	19	1904	1923	1.0	83	4176	4259	1.9	88	2556	2642	3.3
Girls												
Upper & Upper Middle	--	233	233	0.0	1	74	75	1.3	--	6	6	0.0
Balanced Middle	2	510	512	0.4	2	266	268	0.7	--	39	39	0.0
Crosscut/Top	--	528	528	0.0	5	990	995	0.5	1	338	339	0.3
Crosscut/Center	4	110	114	3.5	22	413	435	5.0	25	248	273	9.2
Represent of All	1	169	170	0.6	6	487	493	1.2	5	270	275	1.8
Crosscut/Bottom	8	205	213	3.7	36	1131	1167	3.1	15	833	848	1.8
Lower	5	60	65	7.7	25	380	405	6.2	31	305	336	9.2
RNF & RF	1	66	67	1.5	8	508	516	1.6	4	375	379	1.1
Total	21	1881	1902	1.1	105	4249	4354	2.4	81	2414	2495	3.2

* Excludes 9 cases of dropout for boys and 4 for girls where father's occupation was not known. By subtraction from Table 5, the number of no information on father's occupational status can be obtained for each context.

TABLE IV-8: -- RATE OF TRUANCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SCHOOL SOCIAL STATUS CONTEXTS, FOR BOYS AND GIRLS: 1957 SCHOOL YEAR

School Social Status Context	Occupational Status of Father*											
	High				Middle				High			
	Truant	Not Truant	Total	Rate Per 100	Truant	Not Truant	Total	Rate Per 100	Truant	Not Truant	Total	Rate Per 100
Boys												
Upper & Upper Middle	--	293	293	0.0	--	109	109	0.0	2	4	6	33.3
Balanced Middle	--	391	391	0.0	1	307	308	0.3	1	35	36	2.8
Crosscut/Top	3	562	565	0.5	9	1027	1036	0.9	7	364	371	1.9
Crosscut/Center	1	116	117	0.9	3	443	446	0.7	3	214	217	1.4
Represent of All	1	159	160	0.6	7	438	445	1.6	9	287	296	3.0
Crosscut/Bottom	5	232	237	2.1	42	981	1023	4.1	48	863	1011	4.7
Lower	3	50	53	5.7	43	386	429	10.0	43	309	352	12.2
RNF & RF	--	107	107	0.0	9	451	460	1.9	[illegible]1	434	455	4.6
Total	13	1910	1923	0.7	114	4142	4256	2.7	134	2510	2644	5.1
Girls												
Upper & Upper Middle	--	233	233	0.0	--	76	76	0.0	--	7	7	0.0
Balanced Middle	--	512	512	0.0	--	274	274	0.0	--	37	37	0.0
Crosscut/Top	2	527	529	0.4	5	986	991	0.5	2	341	343	0.6
Crosscut/Center	2	111	113	1.8	--	439	439	0.0	2	267	269	0.7
Represent of All	2	168	170	1.2	2	488	490	0.4	4	271	275	1.5
Crosscut/Bottom	6	235	241	2.5	28	1138	1166	2.4	36	815	851	4.2
Lower	3	62	65	4.6	19	386	405	4.7	15	323	338	4.4
RNF & RF	1	66	67	1.5	1	514	515	0.2	5	402	407	1.2
Total	16	1914	1930	0.8	55	4301	4356	1.3	64	2463	2527	2.5

* Excludes 13 cases of truant boys and 2 of truant girls where father's occupation was not known. By subtraction from Table 6, the number of no information on occupational status of father can be obtained for each context.

contexts left school while 6 of every 100 low status boys and 9 of every 100 low status girls in a Lower status context left school during the year. These figures strongly suggest that the social climate of an upper as compared with a lower status school context strongly affects the dropout rate of students in any social status group. The effect generally is to increase the dropout rate of high status students in low status contexts and to decrease the dropout rate of low status students within high status contexts. The major exception to this is the Crosscut/Center context rates, as previously discussed. Table IV-8 shows that high status boys have a truancy rate of less than one in a hundred while 5 of every 100 low status boys were truants during the 1957 school year. In general, the rate of truancy is lower for high middle and low status boys and girls in the high than the low status contexts. The possible exception to this occurs for low status boys. It appears that low status boys are more likely to be truant in high and low status contexts than they are in the Crosscut/Top and Center contexts. However the rates for low status boys in the high status contexts are subject to considerable sampling error.

As in the case for dropout conduct, we observe that high status boys and girls are much less likely to be truant in a high than a low status context. Table IV-8 shows that none of the boys or girls in the Upper and Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts was truant while almost 6 of every 100 high status boys and 5 of every 100 high status girls in a low status context was truant. Similar effects are observed for the middle status group. But as noted above, the pressures of a high status context on low status boys may be such as to substantially increase their truancy rate. Should these figures prove to be statistically reliable in subsequent tests, it would strongly suggest that the low status boy uses truancy as a solution to a status frustration situation. Yet the number of truants involved is very small, so that 70 per cent of all truants come from the two lowest status contexts and 67 per cent of all low status truants are in these two contexts.

Our examination of the variation in the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy by social status--social context groups suggest that the risk of becoming truant or of leaving school is not altogether a matter of ones social status in the Great Society but there also is a risk attached to a particular social status context. The nature of this risk clearly is that a high status boy or girl is far more likely to leave school or become truant in a lower than a high status context and the low status boy or girl is much less likely to leave school in a high than a low status context. On the other hand, low status boys but not girls may more likely become truant in both the high and low status contexts. The overall effect however would appear to be that parents of high status boys and girls run a greater risk of their children deviating from the norms of truancy and completing high school if they send them to a low status school than a high status one while a low status family will run less risk of their child deviating from the norm at least of completing high school if they send them to a high than a low status school. This may be at the "price" of a greater risk of truant behavior among their sons, however.

Theories of causation often focus at the level of explaining how a boy or girl becomes truant or leaves school in terms of factors characterizing dropouts as contrasted with non-dropouts or truants as contrasted with nontruants. Such theories and the data offered in support of them fail to consider the structural factors in society which dispose toward the conduct. What we have shown here is that there must be structural factors operating since the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy varies substantially by context and by status group within context.

This variation is even more evident if we examine the structural concentration of dropouts and truants in our study. Table IV-5 shows that 76 per cent of all male dropouts and 83 per cent of all female dropouts are found in three contexts: Crosscut/Center, Crosscut/Bottom and Lower. A fourth context, the RNF & RF, accounts for an additional 13 per cent of all male dropouts and seven per cent of all female drops. Looked at another way, roughly 9 of every 10 dropouts are found in these contexts. For truancy, we find an even greater structural concentration, at least so far as prevalence statistics are concerned. For boys, 69 per cent of all truants during the year were found in the Crosscut/Bottom and Lower contexts. The comparable figure for girls is roughly 80 per cent. When we add to this fact the finding from Table IV-7, that within context, the concentration is greater in the lower status group in the Lower context than in the Crosscut/Bottom context, we are led to conclude that both the status of the subject and the status context of schools must be taken into account in explaining the conduct of dropout and of truancy. At a more macroscopic level any theory of causation must account for these structural differences in the incidence and prevalence of dropout and truancy in schools.

We should like to add further that the conduct of truancy and of dropout, though correlated, seem far from perfectly correlated. Though we cannot answer the question, how many of our dropouts ever were truant, we know that within the school year, only 12.6 per cent of our dropouts also were truant. The way the social status structure of the society and the social status context of the school are related to the conduct of truancy and of dropout is undoubtedly not encompassed by a single explanation.

Adolescent Evaluations of School Norms and Rules

The adolescent in modern society is often viewed as having a difficult problem of choosing among competing values. From this point of view the school is in a competitive position with other values, particularly that part of going to school which involves getting an education. Just how important is going to school and getting an education to adolescents in our society? Where do adolescents in our society place schooling and the values associated with it in their system of values?

It of course is very difficult to operationalize these questions and or to test hypotheses deduced from them. How can we operationalize a person's system of values? the specific values in a system of values? Or, how can we determine a choice preference among a number of values? Our trials at operational definition in this area are not altogether satisfactory; yet, we shall utilize the measures below in a description and analysis of adolescent evaluations of schooling, despite certain of their limitations.

One way we chose to operationalize the value placed on education in the adolescent's system of values was to ask each subject a six-choice Likert-type agree-disagree question: "Schooling is the most important thing in life for me." This statement resolves to some extent the problem of ranking a set of values by asking if it is the most important activity. There is some problem here of assessing how validly the question measures an adolescent's evaluation of getting an education. Schooling may not have signified the values of getting an education to all subjects; to some it may have meant no more than going to school.

The responses to this item, as to all our attitude and opinion items, was measured by positing a six point continuum: Strongly Agree--Agree--Agree a Little--Disagree a Little--Disagree--Strongly Disagree. In Tables IV-10A and 10B, we observe that 63 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls agreed with this item (the cutting for agree-disagree being between "agree a little" and "disagree a little.") There are differences in intensity of course. Somewhat fewer than one-fifth of the boys and girls strongly agreed with it. In interpreting the response to this item then we must remember that we have asked our subjects to evaluate the item in terms of intensity as well as content. A majority of all our respondents do not express disagreement with the value position of the item but far less than a majority express a strong acceptance of it.

There is no appreciable social status variation in the extent of agreement with the item. Tables IV-10A and B show that about 63 per cent of the boys in each of the high, middle and low status groups endorse the item by agreement with it while among girls, 65 per cent of the high, 72 per cent of the middle and 70 per cent of the low status girls endorse it. There is somewhat more school status context variation on the item. For boys the maximum context variation is defined by a 59 per cent agreement in Balanced Middle to a 66 per cent agreement in the RNF and RF context. The range of variation for girls is from 60 per cent in the Balanced Middle to 75 per cent in the Lower context. Yet there is no particular pattern to the context variation in Tables IV-9A and 9B for boys or girls other than the fact that among girls the upper status contexts perhaps place less emphasis on the exclusive value of schooling than do the lower status ones. We are inclined to conclude however that there is surprisingly little social status variation in the exclusive value placed on schooling; roughly four-fifths of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls endorse schooling as the "most" important, if not exclusive, value to them.

Truant boys and girls are somewhat less likely than nontruant boys and girls to agree that "schooling is the most important thing in life" (Tables IV-9A and 9B). For boys and girls this is true for truant-nontruant comparisons in each of the three occupational status groups and in seven of the eight school status contexts. But only among the boys do we find that truants significantly less often emphasize schooling than do nontruants when comparisons are made for the 20 occupational status--school status contexts in which truancy occurs.8/

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[8] Sign test; rejection of null hypothesis at .05 level (15 of 20 comparisons).

The differences probably are not very large however.

Boys who leave school before graduation from the high school curriculum also place somewhat less emphasis on schooling than do boys who continue in school. As Tables IV-9A and 9B show, however this is probably not the case for high status boys and girls. High status boys and girls may even place somewhat greater emphasis on schooling though the results are not statistically significant by sex groups. As for truants, only among the boys do we find that dropouts place somewhat less emphasis on schooling than do those who continue in school when comparisons are made for the 20 occupational status--school status contexts in which dropout occurs. Again we are inclined to conclude that the differences are not very large however within most of the groups.

A single question measuring the value which adolescents place on schooling may not be a very reliable or valid measure of adolescent evaluations. We asked a second question to obtain information on the value placed on schooling. Rather than measuring the exclusive importance attached to schooling, we examined the degree to which schooling is devalued by asking students to express their agreement with the item: "Schooling is less important to me than most things." These findings are reported in Tables IV-10A and 10B.

There is somewhat more occupational status variation for the extent to which schooling is devalued than for the extent to which an adolescent places an exclusive value on schooling. Low status boys and girls are more likely to feel schooling is less important to them than most things, but the differences are larger for boys than girls. Furthermore, only 23 per cent of the low status boys feel that schooling is less important to them than most things (recall

TABLE IV-9A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE FOR ME," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Drop	Truant	Total	Drop	Truant	Sub-Total	Drop	Truant	Sub-Total	Drop	Truant	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(0.0)	(33.3)	61.9	--	--	63.2	(0.0)	--	56.0	--	(50.0)	(66.7)
Balanced Middle	(25.0)	(100.0)	58.8	(50.0)	--	58.5	(0.0)	(100.0)	59.2	--	(100.0)	57.1
Crosscut/Top	(55.5)	(57.1)	61.7	(0.0)	(66.7)	62.0	(71.4)	(66.7)	62.6	(0.0)	(50.0)	61.2
Crosscut/Center	(63.8)	(57.1)	67.1	(100.0)	(100.0)	65.4	47.4	(66.7)	67.2	63.2	(33.3)	67.2
Represent of All	(50.0)	44.4	60.8	--	(0.0)	62.4	(66.7)	(57.1)	59.7	(33.3)	(44.4)	63.4
Crosscut/Bottom	51.2	47.9	64.0	(66.7)	(60.0)	68.8	(66.7)	48.8	64.1	44.4	46.8	63.3
Lower	68.7	55.6	64.6	(100.0)	(33.3)	64.7	59.1	51.2	65.3	56.5	61.9	65.3
RNF & RF	52.2	48.3	66.0	(0.0)	--	69.5	(50.0)	44.4	66.3	60.0	50.0	65.0
Total	56.4	51.5	63.2	75.0	53.8	63.0	54.7	52.3	63.4	54.5	52.3	63.8

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-9B: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE FOR ME," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	64.6	--	--	64.4	--	(0.0)	66.2	--	--	57.1
Balanced Middle	--	(50.0)	59.9	--	--	57.6	--	(50.0)	63.1	--	--	67.6
Crosscut/Top	(55.6)	(33.3)	69.0	(0.0)	--	64.3	(100.0)	(40.0)	72.1	(0.0)	(0.0)	68.3
Crosscut/Center	(66.7)	73.5	70.6	(100.0)	(50.0)	75.0	--	72.7	70.9	(0.0)	77.7	68.8
Represent of All	(37.5)	58.3	70.3	(50.0)	(100.0)	70.0	(50.0)	(66.7)	71.3	(25.0)	(40.0)	67.9
Crosscut/Bottom	56.9	61.3	71.9	(66.7)	(75.0)	73.1	57.1	58.3	72.0	58.3	58.8	71.4
Lower	59.5	53.2	74.7	(66.7)	(60.0)	73.8	52.6	52.0	76.2	66.7	54.8	72.5
RNF & RF	(85.7)	61.5	71.6	(0.0)	(100.0)	67.7	(100.0)	62.5	73.7	(100.0)	(50.0)	70.4
Total	58.1	60.7	69.9	56.3	68.4	65.1	60.0	59.0	71.8	58.7	61.2	70.2

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

that 64 per cent of the low status responses expressed agreement that schooling was the "most important" thing in life to them.) There also is some variation by social status context, but the differences are small; pupils in high status contexts appear less likely to devalue schooling.

The variation in the devaluation of schooling among the occupational status--school status contexts is not particularly great, though it is greater for boys than girls. The most interesting pattern of variation is found for low status boys. Low status boys seem to be more likely to devalue schooling if they are in the top or bottom school contexts than if they are in the "middle prestige" contexts. A similar pattern occurs for the middle but not high status boys. Among high status boys in fact, there is an inverse relationship between the devaluation of schooling and the prestige of the context. Only 11 per cent of high status boys in the Upper and Upper Middle context devalue schooling while 32 per cent of the high status boys in the Lower context devalue schooling. This suggests a rather interesting set of effects stemming from the school social status climate. High status boys appear to be cross-pressured into devaluing schooling in a lower status school context. Lower status boys on the other hand do not appear to be affected by the high status context, though they appear to be affected by the middle status climate.

Truants and dropouts are much less likely than those who are not truant or those who remain in school to agree that schooling is less important to them than most things. As Tables IV-10A and 10B show, proportionately twice as many truants as dropouts devalue schooling; yet this means that only roughly four-fifths of all male and 27 per cent of all female dropouts and truants devalue schooling to the extent that they feel it is less important to them than most things. These differences hold for the three occupational status group comparisons for both boys and girls but only for the three lower

TABLE IV-10A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS LESS IMPORTANT TO ME THAN MOST THINGS," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(66.7)	(0.0)	14.5	--	--	10.7	--	(0.0)	22.6	(100.0)	--	(50.0)
Balanced Middle	(0.0)	(25.0)	14.3	--	(0.0)	10.5	(0.0)	(50.0)	17.6	(0.0)	--	27.8
Crosscut/Top	28.6	(33.3)	17.1	(33.3)	(100.0)	11.2	(11.1)	(28.6)	19.3	(57.1)	(0.0)	18.8
Crosscut/Center	(14.3)	31.9	14.1	(0.0)	(25.0)	12.1	(0.0)	33.3	13.5	(33.3)	33.3	15.4
Represent of All	37.5	(42.8)	20.8	(100.0)	--	15.1	(16.7)	25.0	21.3	(37.5)	66.7	22.1
Crosscut/Bottom	43.9	50.0	22.9	(20.0)	(33.3)	20.7	42.9	52.4	21.1	47.9	51.8	24.0
Lower	42.7	45.8	28.8	(100.0)	(100.0)	32.1	46.2	(50.0)	27.6	37.2	39.1	28.7
RNF & RF	41.9	34.8	21.1	--	(0.0)	15.2	(55.6)	(50.0)	18.3	38.1	26.7	24.8
Total	40.8	41.1	19.8	46.2	31.6	13.3	39.4	42.7	20.0	42.9	40.2	23.2

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-10B: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS LESS IMPORTANT TO ME THAN MOST THINGS," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	6.0	--	--	6.9	--	(0.0)	4.0	--	--	(0.0)
Balanced Middle	--	(50.0)	10.6	--	(100.0)	10.0	--	(0.0)	11.4	--	--	13.9
Crosscut/Top	(11.1)	(33.3)	9.3	(50.0)	--	5.7	(0.0)	(40.0)	10.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	11.2
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	23.5	10.0	(0.0)	(50.0)	11.5	--	(13.6)	9.4	(0.0)	28.0	10.3
Represent of All	(25.0)	58.3	12.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	6.6	(50.0)	(66.7)	14.7	(25.0)	(60.0)	11.5
Crosscut/Bottom	29.2	22.9	13.1	(33.3)	(12.5)	11.3	35.7	25.0	11.7	19.4	23.5	15.3
Lower	32.4	27.4	17.3	(100.0)	(0.0)	15.9	36.8	36.0	16.9	13.3	25.8	16.7
RNF & RF	28.6	23.1	11.9	(0.0)	(0.0)	9.1	(0.0)	25.0	11.2	(40.0)	25.0	12.6
Total	27.7	27.1	11.7	(37.5)	23.8	8.5	32.7	27.6	11.8	18.8	28.7	13.5

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

prestige contexts (Representative of All; Crosscut/Bottom and Lower) for both boys and girls. The differences clearly do not generally hold for combinations of high status and high prestige contexts although they are quite substantial for combinations of low status and low prestige contexts. Low status dropouts and truant boys devalue schooling generally regardless of context while it is much less apparent for high status boys. Yet it seems quite clear that in a lower prestige school, truant and dropout boys, but not girls, are more inclined to devalue schooling than are the conforming boys.

Examining the emphasis our adolescents place on schooling in terms of our two measures it seems clear that adolescents on the whole place a high value on schooling. At least half of all truants and dropouts place a high valuation on getting an education by both our measures. They agree that schooling is the most important thing in life to them and disagree that it is less important to them than most things. Yet the large majority of all adolescents do not hold this value with strong intensity by our measures.

While lower status boys and girls are less likely to value schooling as an exclusive value to them than do high status ones, the differences are not large. Similarly the differences in evaluation for boys and girls who are truant or leave school and those who do not are rather small, though in the expected direction of deviating boys and girls being more likely to devalue schooling than conforming ones. But in no sense does there seem to be support for the view that even those adolescents who openly rebel against school norms by truancy or that those who leave school do so because they do not personally evaluate education as of some positive value significance to them.

It is important to note too that the evaluations of male adolescents, even those who deviate from school norms by truancy or early withdrawl, are affected by the social climate of the school as well as by the prevailing views in their ascribed status position. The evaluations of the lower status boy in the two lower status prestige contexts particularly represent the combined effects of social climate and the evaluations derived from one's ascribed status position.

The major legal norms of the society which impinge upon minors as a special class of citizens are those relating to attending school. The legal norms of our society coerce parents into enrolling their children in school. Once the child is enrolled in school the law makes regular and continued attendance obligatory up to a given age (or ages) unless one fulfills the requirements for one of the exceptions to the law. The enforcement of State school attendance laws permits strong coercive powers to be used to bring compliance with them. These powers of enforcement rest both with the schools, and their administrative agencies, and with the juvenile courts or other courts of competent jurisdiction if a juvenile court is not available. The agents of enforcement employ strong sanctions to insure attendance. In most cases of failure to comply they either force the parents or children into overt compliance with the law or, failing this, remove the child from the setting of the free society to a setting where compulsory attendance is enforced by means available in the setting of a closed institution, as for example in a State Training School or a "Parental" school.

Although the laws relating to school enrollment and compulsory attendance are strongly coercive in intent and strong sanctions are available to enforce compliance or to punish for failure to comply, parents and children may not preceive these norms as coercive in nature. We might assume in fact that to the extent there is consensus about the importance of everyone getting a minimum of education in our Society, we will find such a degree of acceptance of the requirement that no coercive element is perceived in the norm. Or, at least one might assume that under these conditions of consensus the norm is accepted without being thought of as unduly restrictive.

To probe the extent to which there is consensus among adolescents about the "properness" of the norms requiring school enrollment and regular attendance, we asked another agree-disagree item: "The rules are too strict about coming to school." While this item perhaps is more likely to be perceived as measuring the component of regularity of attendance, in a formal sense it includes the element of compulsory enrollment as well. Most of our respondents probably treated this item as referring to the matter of regularity of attendance though some saw it in relation to the necessity of attending until the legal age of withdrawl from school was reached--17 years in our school system. While we do not measure components separately, we suspect that most adolescents would agree that it is important that enrollment in school be a requirement for everyone, at least up to a minimum age. There would be somewhat less agreement however on what comprises the minimum age to which all should be compelled to attend. Finally, we would expect that there would be least agreement as to how regularly one should attend, and particularly as to what kind of behavior is to be defined as truancy.

Tables IV-11A and 11B present information on the extent to which boys and girls in the three ascribed status and eight school status context groups agreed that "The rules are too strict about coming to school." There is a substantial sex difference in the extent to which the requirement of school attendance is viewed as coercive. Over two-fifths of all boys (44 per cent) view the norm as coercive while only slightly over one-fourth of all the girls agreed that the rules are to some extent too strict. From one standpoint this can be viewed as a rather substantial source of strain in our society, particularly so far as boys are concerned. For our population at least almost one-half of them view the rules as too strict. And in fact, as we shall see

TABLE IV-11A: -- PER CENT OF WHITE BOYS WHO AGREE THAT "THE RULES ABOUT COMING TO SCHOOL ARE TOO STRICT," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(66.7)	(100.0)	31.5	--	--	29.1	--	(100.0)	33.3	(100.0)	--	60.0
Balanced Middle	(50.0)	(50.0)	32.5	--	(100.0)	28.5	(100.0)	(0.0)	36.6	(0.0)	--	39.1
Crosscut/Top	54.5	(33.3)	37.9	(66.7)	(0.0)	32.0	(55.6)	(42.9)	39.5	(62.5)	(0.0)	42.4
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	52.2	37.4	(0.0)	(50.0)	36.8	(0.0)	55.0	36.7	(0.0)	50.0	38.5
Represent of All	77.8	(71.4)	45.5	(100.0)	--	37.5	(71.4)	(40.0)	46.4	(77.8)	(100.0)	47.3
Crosscut/Bottom	69.4	61.4	51.4	(40.0)	(66.7)	47.5	66.7	55.0	49.6	72.9	63.0	53.9
Lower	67.0	66.7	56.5	(100.0)	(100.0)	59.6	66.7	68.2	55.8	66.7	65.2	57.1
RMF & RF	77.4	40.9	46.9	--	(0.0)	36.1	77.8	100.0	44.9	76.2	28.5	51.1
Total	66.9	57.2	44.0	61.5	55.6	34.5	65.5	58.7	44.2	69.4	55.8	49.9

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

1/ See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-11B: -- PER CENT OF WHITE GIRLS[1] WHO AGREE THAT "THE RULES ABOUT COMING TO SCHOOL ARE TOO STRICT," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(100.0)	15.9	--	--	15.5	--	(100.0)	17.3	--	--	16.7
Balanced Middle	--	(50.0)	18.7	--	(50.0)	16.5	--	(50.0)	22.0	--	--	25.6
Crosscut/Top	(33.3)	(60.0)	19.2	(50.0)	--	14.5	(0.0)	(50.0)	20.5	(100.0)	(100.0)	22.0
Crosscut/Center	(25.0)	41.2	24.1	(0.0)	(50.0)	21.4	--	31.8	22.9	(50.0)	48.0	27.2
Represent of all	(62.5)	41.7	28.5	(50.0)	(0.0)	26.8	(50.0)	(50.0)	29.4	(75.0)	(40.0)	29.2
Crosscut/Bottom	59.7	59.0	33.4	(50.0)	(37.5)	27.2	75.0	68.6	33.9	47.2	52.9	34.2
Lower	64.9	53.2	38.5	(33.3)	(40.0)	34.4	84.2	68.0	39.6	46.7	45.2	38.3
RNF & RF	(14.3)	38.4	23.8	(0.0)	(100.0)	23.9	(0.0)	(37.5)	22.5	(20.0)	(25.0)	24.8
Total	56.3	50.7	26.4	37.5	42.8	19.2	69.1	55.8	27.4	48.4	47.0	30.1

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

below, in some of our schools over half of the boys do perceive the rules about coming to school as too strict. It should be no surprise therefore that large number of students withdraw from school as they reach the legal age for withdrawing and that large numbers from time to time are truant from school. In fact what may be surprising is that the prevalence of truancy and withdrawl from school is not substantially greater than it is, given the fact that the norm is not regarded with high acceptance by our adolescents. It is also not surprising that girls are less truant and less likely to leave school than are boys, given their greater acceptance of the norm.

There is substantial variation in the degree to which the norm is regarded as unduly restrictive by the social status climate of the school which the boy or girl attends and by their ascribed social status. Taking our three ascribed occupational status groups, we find considerable variation for boys, less so for girls. High status boys and girls are less likely to regard the norm as unduly coercive than are low status ones. In fact, for boys, 56 per cent of the low status boys agree that the rules are too strict about coming to school while only 35 per cent of the high status boys agree this is the case. Yet, high status boys are more likely to regard the norm as unduly restrictive than are low status girls--only 30 per cent of the low status girls regard the norm as too strict.

There is considerable variation in the acceptance of the rules about coming to school by the social status climate of the school. Boys and girls in high prestige contexts are less likely to regard the norms as restrictive than are boys and girls in the low prestige ones. The school context variation for boys however is not much greater than their ascribed status composition would suggest. For girls however, there appears to be somewhat greater variation by school context than their ascribed status composition would suggest.

Within each school context, there is variation by ascribed status, such that generally boys and girls of high ascribed status are less likely to regard the norms as coercive than are boys and girls of low status. At the same time too, within each major ascribed status group, boys and girls in the high prestige context are less likely to perceive the rules as restrictive than are boys and girls in the lesser prestige contexts. There are some exceptions however. In particular, boys in the ascribed status groups in the Lower status and Crosscut/Center contexts differ very little in the degree to which they regard the rules as coercive.

For both boys and girls, the social status climate of the school exerts some effect over and above that exerted by their ascribed social status. In Table IV-11A we note that high status boys are more likely to be affected by the school context than are low status ones. Only 34 per cent of the high status boys in high prestige contexts regard the rules as restrictive as compared with 60 per cent of the high status boys in the lowest prestige context--a range of 31 per cent. The comparable range for low status boys is but 18 per cent and it is 23 per cent for the middle status boys. This suggests then that a high status boy who attends a low prestige school is more likely to adopt the prevailing norm of the school than is the low status boy who attends the high status school.

In Table IV-11B we note that context affects the preceptions of girls such that high status girls are likely to take on the perceptions of low status girls in the low prestige context and viceversa. Among girls it appears that the context effect may be contrary to that for boys. Context may have more effect on the low than the high status girl. The differences are quite small however.

We would generally assume that boys and girls who withdraw from school or who are truant would be more likely to regard the norms of attending school as being quite restrictive, and our data affirm this view to a limited extent. When the consensus on the norm is as low as it is for our population however, one would hardly expect the norm to be highly controlling of the behavior unless there was substantially large behavioral deviation from the norm. This obviously is not the case from our data. Low consensus on the norm does not appear to produce proportionate behavioral deviation from it. There is a closer relationship between truant deviation and a perception of the norm as being too restrictive than there is for withdrawl deviation. Withdrawl from school of course, is more likely to occur for coercive reasons other than those linked with a dissatisfaction with the norm. Using a sign test, we note that in 15 of 20 ascribed status-context comparisons, boys who are truant are more likely to regard the rules as being too strict than are nontruant boys; this difference is significant at the .05 level. Yet the relationship appears largest for low and middle status boys and girls in the low prestige contexts, as Tables IV-11A and B show.

The perception that the norms of going to school are too strict does not necessarily mean of course that the adolescent is oriented away from going to school. One may feel that the requirements of attendance are too strict without wanting to leave school or feeling that the norm ought to allow persons to quit school. We therefore sought to learn whether adolescents might hold a norm alternate to that of compulsory school attendance, an alternative however which is generally considered acceptable conforming behavior in the larger society. Specifically, one can view a regular job as a conforming alternative to going to school. Schooling after all is the work of the child in our society. In adolescence in fact schooling increasingly becomes a transitional phase to an adult work role in our society. This is true to a greater extent for boys than for girls. Girls are not necessarily expected to work. If they do go to work, their work role is generally thought of as

TABLE IV-12A: -- PER CENT OF WHITE BOYS[1/] AGREEING THAT "YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK NOW", BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(33.3)	(0.0)	6.2	--	--	5.8	--	(0.0)	8.3	(50.0)	--	(14.3)
Balanced Middle	(50.0)	(0.0)	10.4	--	(0.0)	8.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	12.3	(100.0)	--	15.2
Crosscut/Top	33.3	(44.4)	14.1	(33.3)	(100.0)	12.5	(22.2)	(42.9)	13.8	(50.0)	(0.0)	17.0
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	(33.3)	16.4	(0.0)	(37.5)	14.5	(0.0)	42.8	17.0	(0.0)	21.1	16.7
Represent of All	52.9	(57.1)	16.7	(40.0)	--	10.6	(50.0)	(25.0)	17.1	(44.4)	(100.0)	18.2
Crosscut/Bottom	42.9	43.1	19.8	(40.0)	(33.3)	16.9	38.1	38.1	18.6	50.0	51.8	21.2
Lower	39.6	48.9	24.6	(33.3)	(0.0)	22.9	38.1	50.0	22.5	42.9	54.5	28.3
RNF & RF	48.4	30.4	21.0	--	(0.0)	12.0	(66.7)	(50.0)	20.2	38.1	20.0	23.2
Total	41.1	40.1	17.0	38.5	27.8	11.4	38.4	41.5	16.9	44.8	41.4	21.1

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

1/ See Table IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-12B: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS AGREEING THAT "YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK NOW," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	2.1	--	--	2.4	--	(0.0)	1.3	--	--	(0.0)
Balanced Middle	--	(25.0)	6.9	--	(50.0)	7.8	--	(0.0)	4.1	--	--	12.8
Crosscut/Top	(22.2)	(33.3)	6.2	(100.0)	--	7.8	(0.0)	(40.0)	5.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	7.1
Crosscut/Center	(25.0)	15.7	10.5	(50.0)	(25.0)	12.4	--	18.2	(10.0)	(0.0)	12.0	10.6
Represent of All	(12.5)	16.7	6.4	(0.0)	(0.0)	5.3	(0.0)	16.7	6.1	(25.0)	(20.0)	7.6
Crosscut/Bottom	25.0	22.9	10.0	(33.3)	(0.0)	7.5	17.9	27.8	9.1	27.8	23.5	11.8
Lower	29.7	22.6	14.4	(66.7)	(20.0)	15.4	21.1	20.0	13.3	33.3	25.8	15.8
RNF & RF	(33.3)	23.1	10.0	--	(0.0)	12.0	(0.0)	(25.0)	7.6	(40.0)	(25.0)	11.2
Total	25.7	20.9	8.7	46.7	14.3	7.7	16.4	23.1	7.7	28.1	20.5	11.0

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

transitional to that of housewife and/or mother. Thus for boys, going to work full-time is clearly seen as a future role which must be fulfilled, while for girls work is by no means a clear alternative to going to school. We would expect therefore that work is a much more salient alternative to schooling for boys than for girls. The opportunity to work in our society is an age related opportunity, however. Many jobs cannot be held until a particular legal age is reached. The extent to which one views full time work as a realistic alternative to going to school may vary considerably with age as well as sex therefore.

We asked all of our students the following question: "Do you think that young people should be allowed to do any of the following now: Quit school and go to work full time." We view this question as providing an alternate conforming goal, and we sought to learn to what extent young people regard it as an alternative to schooling. In Tables IV-12A and 12B we can see that most boys and girls do not see a full time job as an alternative to schooling, at least not "now"--a referent which varies with the age of the subject. For boys and girls, age 12 and over, only 17 per cent of the boys and roughly 9 per cent of the girls think young people should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time. It must be remembered that agreement does not mean that the subject wants to quit school and go to work full time; it simply means that the subject feels this ought to be an alternative. We note nevertheless that boys are much more likely to see it as an alternative--almost twice as likely as girls--even though only about one in eight of all our students think young people should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time.

As one might expect, boys in the lowest status group are somewhat more likely (21 per cent) to see it as an alternative than boys in the highest status group (11 per cent); yet again the variation is far from including a majority of all boys in any ascribed status group. For girls, there is almost no ascribed status variation. The social status climate of the school appears to exert some variation on the perceptions of this norm as well. For boys, only 6 per cent of the boys in the high prestige context see it as an alternative while 25 per cent of the boys in the lowest prestige context see it as an alternative. Among girls the range is from 2 per cent to 14 per cent, suggesting appreciably more context than ascribed status variation.

Generally speaking the basic ascribed status variation holds within context, and vice versa, for boys, but not girls. That is, within each social status context, high status boys are less likely than low status ones to think young people should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time. Similarly, within each ascribed status group, there are proportionately fewer boys in the high prestige than in the low prestige context who endorse the norm. The combined effects of ascribed status and context are such that only 6 per cent of all high status boys in a high prestige context endorse the norm while 28 per cent of all low status boys in the low prestige context endorse it. The context effect does not appear to be any greater for low than high status boys however.

Some truants and dropouts who are rebelling against the norm of compulsory school attendance, might readily accept other conforming goals of the society. They might, in fact, be quite willing to accept a full time job as an alternative. Here we specifically examine whether they view a full time job as a normative alternative. Boys, but not girls, who are truant significantly more often than those who are not truant agree that young people should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time.[10]

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[10] Truants exceed nontruants in their agreement with this norm in 16 of 20 possible comparisons; significant at .05 level by a sign test.

The differences are particularly substantial for all boys in the lower three prestige contexts; and in fact, girls who are truant in the Crescent/Bottom and Lower prestige contexts are more likely than girls who are not truant to agree that young people ought to be allowed to quit school and go to work full time. The differences are far less clear for dropouts although lower status boys and girls in lower prestige contexts are more likely to agree with the norm if they are truant.

ADOLESCENT ACHIEVEMENT GOALS

In Chapter III, we pointed out that sociological theory emphasizes the importance of the internalization of the expectations of others in controlling individual behavior. The role in which others see one has a reciprocal influence on a person's self conception and the roles one takes. Since parents are among the most important figures serving as significant role models for the child, even adolescents, we would expect that the adolescent would tend to either adopt parental conceptions as his or her own or to modify role behavior under their impact. At least most adolescent children must somehow relate his or her self conception to the expectation of significant others, particularly parents.

Parents uniformly do not have clearly formulated educational attainment goals for their children. Nor are all parents equally effective in communicating these goals to their children and all children equally receptive objects of their communication. Put in another way, the interaction between mother and child, for example, which results in the child being unable to report the mother as holding a definite educational goal for the child does not mean the mother neither has such a goal nor that she has not attempted to communicate that goal. Barriers to communication between this mother and her child may effectively exclude cognition of what is communicated or rejection of it because of incompatibility with the role and status of the child.

In Table IV-13 information is presented on the per cent of boys and girls, and of truants and dropouts, who did not report a year in school they felt their mother wanted them to complete. These data are relatively uninfluenced either by failure to complete the questionnaire or by absence of mother from the home. In other words these responses are largely those categorized as, "don't know" mother's educational goal.

Boys are more likely than girls to report they do not know "what grade in school or year in college has (your mother) always wanted you to finish before you quit going to school"; 23 per cent of all boys contrasted with 13 per cent of all girls failed to report a definite year. Low occupational status boys and girls are less likely than high status ones to report they do not know their mother's educational attainment goal for them. The differences are somewhat larger for boys than girls. Neither of these findings is surprising in the sense that we expect middle status girls to be more sensitive than boys to mother's and to society's emphasis on educational values.

There is only one striking pattern by the social status context of the school. Boys and girls in schools with a substantial rural nonfarm and/or rural farm student body are least likely to know their mother's educational expectations for them. While we have not made a detailed investigation of the source of this difference, we expect that boys and girls in these schools from rural farm origins are least likely to know their mother's expectations. Our reason for this is that we expect these parents are least likely to have clearly formulated educational goals for their children.

There is not much difference in the proportion of boys and girls who

TABLE IV-13: -- PER CENT OF WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS AND OF TRUANTS AND DROPOUTS FROM SCHOOL[1] WHO DID NOT REPORT THE AMOUNT OF EDUCATION THEY PERCEIVED MOTHER AS HOLDING FOR THEM, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
	Boys											
Upper & Upper Middle	(66.7)	(0.0)	18.1	--	--	13.3	--	(0.0)	26.6	(100.0)	--	50.0
Balanced Middle	(50.0)	(25.0)	17.4	--	(50.0)	12.3	(100.0)	(0.0)	21.6	(0.0)	--	25.7
Crosscut/Top	30.0	(22.2)	22.4	(66.7)	(0.0)	15.2	(0.0)	(28.5)	21.7	(25.0)	(0.0)	25.8
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	10.6	14.2	(0.0)	(12.5)	9.4	(0.0)	9.1	13.7	(0.0)	11.8	15.2
Represent of All	38.9	(14.3)	27.3	(100.0)	--	17.5	(14.2)	(0.0)	24.5	44.4	(33.3)	30.4
Crosscut/Bottom	34.6	27.6	24.1	(20.0)	(20.0)	18.5	28.6	19.0	21.2	39.6	33.3	26.7
Lower	20.9	20.8	17.7	(0.0)	(0.0)	7.5	26.8	22.7	15.7	13.9	17.4	20.7
RNF & RF	48.3	47.8	32.0	--	(0.0)	16.8	(55.6)	(25.0)	28.7	47.6	60.0	36.9
Total	31.1	23.3	22.8	30.8	15.8	14.5	26.7	16.9	21.3	31.8	29.1	27.0
	Girls											
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	15.8	--	--	14.6	--	(0.0)	20.0	--	--	14.3
Balanced Middle	--	(0.0)	8.6	--	(0.0)	7.4	--	(0.0)	10.0	--	--	13.5
Crosscut/Top	(11.1)	(0.0)	12.9	(0.0)	--	8.9	(20.0)	(0.0)	12.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	14.5
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	5.9	8.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	6.2	--	4.5	7.1	(0.0)	8.0	11.9
Represent of All	(12.5)	8.3	11.8	(0.0)	(0.0)	10.6	(0.0)	(0.0)	7.7	(25.0)	(20.0)	15.7
Crosscut/Bottom	22.2	11.7	12.6	(16.7)	(37.5)	9.4	21.4	2.8	11.1	25.0	20.0	15.0
Lower	0.0	14.5	16.9	(0.0)	(20.0)	6.1	0.0	12.0	18.5	0.0	12.9	13.6
RNF & RF	(42.8)	7.7	20.8	(0.0)	(0.0)	17.9	(0.0)	(12.5)	17.4	(60.0)	(0.0)	24.8
Total	15.3	10.0	13.3	6.3	19.0	9.5	12.7	6.0	12.3	20.3	12.3	17.1

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage bases for each subgroup.

leave school and those who remain in their awareness of mother's educational attainment goals for them. For boys this relationship holds within ascribed occupational status groups as well. It appears however that truant boys, though not girls, are less likely to be aware of their mother's educational attainment expectations for them than are nontruant boys. For boys this relationship holds within ascribed occupational status groups. Boys who rebel against school norms by truanting either come from families where mothers are less likely to hold clear expectations for their sons educational attainment, or holding them, they either fail to communicate them as well or more often find their sons reject them altogether, including the failure to report any attainment goal being held by mother.

Of the boys and girls who report a definite year in school their mother wants them to complete, we find that more of the boys than of the girls in Tables IV-14A and B believe their mother wants them to go to college--54 per cent of all boys and 44 per cent of all girls have college oriented mothers. There are very large differences by ascribed occupational status however with 81 per cent of all high status boys and only 40 per cent of all low status ones feeling their mothers want them to get some college education. The comparable percentages for girls show an even greater range, from 73 per cent of all high status girls to only 27 per cent of all low status ones. These relative differences between high and low status boys and girls generally hold within each of the eight school contexts, though the differences may be greater in some contexts than others. Thus low ascribed status mothers are less likely to want their daughters to go to college relative to their sons (41 per cent of boys versus 27 per cent of girls) than are high status mothers (81 per cent of boys and 73 per cent of girls). Higher status parents in our society clearly make less differentiation between their sons and daughters as to their

TABLE IV-14a -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GO TO COLLEGE BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(100.0)	(100.0)	93.5	--	--	95.3	--	(100.0)	91.3	--	--	(66.7)
Balanced Middle	(100.0)	(66.7)	95.0	--	(100.0)	97.1	--	(50.0)	92.6	(100.0)	--	92.3
Crosscut/Top	18.8	(28.6)	68.0	(100.0)	(0.0)	83.9	(22.2)	(20.0)	66.1	(0.0)	(100.0)	48.9
Crosscut/Center	(28.6)	12.0	38.3	(0.0)	(0.0)	56.6	(0.0)	(25.0)	40.3	(66.7)	0.0	24.5
Represent of All	18.2	(17.7)	55.3	--	--	68.9	(33.3)	(33.3)	56.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	47.5
Crosscut/Bottom	14.1	(9.5)	43.0	(50.0)	(40.0)	64.2	16.7	5.9	46.6	6.9	6.6	33.7
Lower	5.6	0.0	12.8	(0.0)	(0.0)	30.6	6.7	0.0	14.7	5.4	0.0	7.9
RNF & RF	18.8	17.7	45.0	--	(0.0)	69.7	(50.0)	0.0	47.9	9.1	16.7	35.9
Total	13.3	11.3	53.8	(33.3)	18.8	80.8	15.9	14.5	52.7	8.7	5.0	39.9

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-14B: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS REPORTING THAT THEIR MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GO TO COLLEGE, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(100.0)	92.5	--	--	93.5	--	(100.0)	91.7	--	--	66.7
Balanced Middle	--	(50.0)	89.1	--	(0.0)	93.5	--	(100.0)	82.4	--	--	81.3
Crosscut/Top	(50.0)	(33.3)	56.7	(100.0)	--	70.1	(50.0)	(40.0)	54.1	(0.0)	(0.0)	42.9
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	4.2	25.9	(0.0)	(0.0)	48.1	--	9.5	25.7	(0.0)	(0.0)	16.0
Represent of All	(42.9)	18.2	45.8	(50.0)	(0.0)	65.1	(100.0)	16.7	42.0	(0.0)	(25.0)	39.8
Crosscut/Bottom	8.9	13.2	30.5	(40.0)	(0.0)	51.8	4.6	17.1	31.2	7.4	8.3	24.0
Lower	10.8	3.7	8.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	14.8	5.3	9.1	8.2	20.0	(0.0)	6.2
RNF & RF	(25.0)	16.7	38.1	(100.0)	(0.0)	51.9	(0.0)	28.6	43.4	0.0	(0.0)	28.4
Total	14.7	10.1	43.7	40.0	0.0	72.9	12.5	18.2	40.3	9.8	2.8	26.6

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

expectations of "at least a college" education than do low status parents. The more detailed tabulations by single year of school show however that parents expectations for boys and girls--including the expectations of high status parents--diverge more at the beyond college and professional school level than at the college level.

The higher the prestige status of the school context the more likely boys and girls are to perceive their mothers as wanting them to go to college. Among boys in fact, the range is from 94 per cent of all boys in the Upper and Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts to only 13 per cent of all in the Lower status context perceiving their mothers as wanting them to go to college. The range for girls is even somewhat greater--from 93 per cent to only 8 per cent. The major exception to this relationship is the Crosscut/Center context and here the difference is largely a function of the fact that the vocational and technical high school is included in this context. It seems likely that boys and girls who deliberately select a high school which primarily teaches one to assume a vocation or trade upon graduation do so with an awareness that their mother's educational attainment goal for them is in keeping with this choice. For, we observe in Table 14 that 82 per cent of the boys and 93 per cent of the girls in the vocational and technical high school perceive their mothers as wanting them to only complete high school. No other school in our study has as high a percentage of boys and girls reporting as low an average educational attainment goal, even our lowest prestige status schools. It is possible of course that the mothers of boys and girls who attend the vocational and technical school did not always hold such relatively low educational attainment expectations for their sons and daughters. They may not even have held them at the time of their child's entry into the school, but decreased them after the choice was made by their son or daughter. All we can say is that their attainment expectations now are largely perceived as compatible with the choice situation of their son or daughter--more so than that of most parents.

The combined effects of ascribed status and the status prestige context of the school on mother's educational expectations, as perceived by their children, are of considerable magnitude. The proportion of mothers reported as wanting their sons to go to college ranges from 97 per cent of the boys of high ascribed social status in the Balanced Middle prestige context to only 8 per cent of all low status boys in the Lower prestige context--a difference of 89 per cent. The differences are equally striking for girls--from 94 per cent of all high status girls in the two highest prestige contexts to only 6 per cent of all low status girls in the lowest status context--a difference of 88 per cent. It also is a salient fact that the sex difference is generally small only for these extreme ascribed status--prestige context combinations (except for the high status-low prestige context). The most substantial sex defferences are observed for the middle ascribed status--higher prestige contexts and the high status-low prestige contexts. Parents in these ascribed statuses and/or contexts are perhaps most likely to want to make sacrifices for the college education of their sons rather than their daughters. Or, looked at another way, parents in some status positions, particularly the middle ascribed status, generally place a high valuation on a college education without being able to easily afford a college education for all their children; "sacrifices" become necessary if children are to be given a college education. Under these circumstances, parents are more likely to hold college aspirations for their sons and to make sacrifices for their college education than they are to do so for their daughters--the boy needs the college education. The relative absence of a sex difference in the high status-high prestige contexts probably reflects the combined effects of both high college aspirations and high ability to afford a college education for both boys and girls. Correlatively, the relative absence of a sex difference in the low status-low prestige context may reflect a generally apathetic view these parents hold both toward the necessity of getting an education and their relative inability to afford one for them. If our reasoning is correct, then some system of providing opportunities for a college education regardless of the status origins of boys and girls might both reduce the sex differences observed here and also markedly reduce the differences in parental status expectations by ascribed status and prestige context for the more achievement oriented students at least.

Despite the marked variation in the proportion of mothers perceived as having college aspirations for their children by both ascribed social status and social status climate of schools, boys and girls are more likely to want to go to college if they are in high than in low prestige contexts, regardless of their ascribed social status. This can be seen most clearly by comparing the expectations of mothers in each ascribed status group of the top with the bottom prestige contexts in Tables IV-14A and B. The proportion of both boys and girls in each ascribed status group of the Upper and Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts is greater than the proportion in any ascribed status group of the Crosscut/Bottom and Lower status contexts. The social climate of a prestige context thus has an important effect on ascribed status related attributes. If we tentatively state this as a causal sequence, something our data do not permit, we would conclude that the effect of the high prestige context is to "raise" the educational expectations low ascribed status mothers have for their children while the low prestige context "decreases" the educational expectations high ascribed status mothers hold for their children. There are of course alternative explanations. One of these is that the prestige contexts are selective from all ascribed status groups of mothers with educational aspirations like that of the majority ascribed status group in the context.

The effect of the prestige context appears to be greater for low than high ascribed status boys, but not girls. Thus in Table IV-14A we observe that the expectations for low status boys ranges from 8 per cent of all boys in the low status-low prestige context to 92 per cent of all in the low status-Balanced Middle prestige context--a range of 84 per cent. For high status boys, the range, while a substantial 66 per cent, is smaller--from 31 per cent of all high status boysiin low prestige contexts to 97 per cent of high status boys in the Balanced Middle context. Again this suggests that the social climate of schools is more pronounced for low than high status boys in American Society. The effects of ascribed social status seem less modifiable for high than low status boys, if our reasoning is correct. Yet the substantial nature of our differences in expectations for ascribed status groups by social context suggest there are profound social climate effects.

Any percentage for truant and dropout subgroups classified by ascribed social status and social status context are subject to considerable sampling unreliability since, as we have noted before, the incidence of these forms of deviating behavior vary with both ascribed status and status context. Despite this unreliability, we again have relied upon the sign test to learn whether it is reasonable to conclude that parents of dropouts and truants are perceived as holding more restricted educational attainment goals for their children than are parents of boys and girls who conform to the norms of attendance and getting a high school education. The findings are particularly notable for dropouts. Clearly boys and girls who withdraw from school before completing high school perceive their mothers as holding lower educational attainment expectations for them. To realize that this is not a spurious finding, the reader is reminded that the information on the preception of mother's educational attainment aspirations was secured prior to the subject's withdrawal from school. For some of our cases the data were secured almost a year prior to the withdrawal. For our city cases, there was a minimum of five months between the subject's statement of mother's expectations and withdrawal from school. Pupils who withdrew for the most part never saw their mothers as holding college aspirations for them. Almost all of our dropouts are found in ascribed status groups within social climates where the expectations generally are low.

The differences observed for dropouts and those who remain in school generally hold for truant-nontruant comparisons, though there are more exceptions particularly in the high status, high prestige contexts.

The educational aspirations of boys and girls can be viewed in terms of their willingness to continue their education or, correlatively, their desire or intention to quit school. While boys and girls may quit school even when their educational attainment aspirations are high, we would expect that in general those who express a wish to quit school, particularly if they feel either pressures to attend or they see alternative goals to schooling, would have less achievement orientation than those who do not want to quit school. We therefore proceeded to examine the achievement orientations boys and girls have toward getting an education in terms of three "quit school" measures.

In Chapter II, we discussed the development of our quit school scale and the scale is utilized in the analysis of Chapter V. It will be recalled that the scale was designed to measure the subject's expressed intention toward quitting school. In Tables IV-15A and B we present information for all scale type 5 cases--those who are in the scale type presumed to measure the greatest intention of quitting school. Specifically, these are the boys and girls who agreed with the "extreme" item in our scale: "I want to quit school right now." In a conceptual interpretation of this scale position, the reader should keep in mind that this is not necessarily the most extreme form of an intention to quit school, since conceivably there are other and more extreme positions. It simply is the most extreme position in terms of our scale of four items. We therefore refer to this scale score as a high quit school intention in terms of the content dimension believed to be encompassed by our scale items. It also should be kept in mind that the definition of the scale as a quit school scale is an imputed common content of the items. The validity of the dimension is not demonstrated. Furthermore, a strongly expressed intention or desire to quit school does not mean on the one hand that one carries ones intention into action and thereby actually quits school, nor does it mean on the other that the validity of the scale rests solely in whether people actually do quit school. People quit school for reasons other than a strong desire or intention to quit school. A high school girl, for example may become pregnant and her boyfriend finds that he "must" marry and support her and both therefore leave school. Or, family factors may suddenly force a student to quit school when there has been no prior intention to quit school. On the other hand, a large number of boys and girls may want very much to quit school but family and other pressures will not permit them to carry out their intention. Looked at in this way, any boy or girl who wants to quit school may be subject to the cross pressures of own wish to quit and externally linked pressures to remain in school. The outcome of this conflict in some cases will be to remain in school and in other cases to leave school, depending upon a variety of factors.

In Tables IV-15A and B we observe that 9 per cent of all girls and about

TABLE IV-15A: -- PER CENT1/ OF WHITE BOYS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES2/, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(33.3)	--	12.6	--	--	10.5	--	(0.0)	16.3	(50.0)	--	(33.3)
Balanced Middle	(0.0)	(66.7)	9.7	--	(0.0)	4.3	(0.0)	(100.0)	16.2	(0.0)	--	9.1
Crosscut/Top	25.0	(37.5)	14.1	(33.3)	(100.0)	9.7	(11.1)	(16.7)	13.9	(37.5)	(100.0)	19.7
Crosscut/Center	(16.7)	(29.2)	13.0	(0.0)	(37.5)	9.9	(0.0)	33.3	11.1	(33.3)	21.1	16.4
Represent of All	48.3	20.0	17.2	(100.0)	--	11.2	(33.3)	(33.3)	16.9	(44.4)	(0.0)	19.9
Crosscut/Bottom	58.0	(47.3)	22.6	(25.0)	(40.0)	15.3	52.4	42.8	21.2	65.9	53.8	25.1
Lower	51.7	(58.7)	30.0	(100.0)	--	21.6	56.4	61.9	29.2	43.9	63.6	31.4
BNF & BF	50.0	26.3	16.4	--	(0.0)	9.2	50.0	50.0	14.2	47.4	16.7	20.2
Total	49.6	44.6	17.7	(50.0)	35.3	9.9	47.7	44.3	17.5	50.8	42.7	22.8

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

1/ See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.
2/ Scale type 5: "I want to quit school right now."

TABLE IV-15b -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES[2], BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	2.9	--	--	3.1	--	(0.0)	2.7	--	--	(0.0)
Balanced Middle	--	(25.0)	6.0	--	(50.0)	4.8	--	(0.0)	7.5	--	--	11.4
Crescent/Top	(37.5)	(66.7)	6.9	(50.0)	--	5.8	(25.0)	(60.0)	6.3	(50.0)	(100.0)	9.3
Crescent/Center	(0.0)	32.0	8.8	(0.0)	(50.0)	7.2	--	27.3	8.6	(0.0)	33.3	9.8
Represent of All	(12.5)	41.7	9.1	(0.0)	(0.0)	7.3	(0.0)	(66.7)	7.8	(25.0)	(20.0)	12.1
Crescent/Bottom	41.2	29.5	11.6	(23.3)	(37.5)	8.6	46.4	25.7	10.9	37.5	29.4	13.3
Lower	43.2	32.7	17.2	(66.7)	(0.0)	9.5	47.4	44.0	15.7	33.3	30.0	19.1
SNF & NF	(0.0)	9.1	8.0	(0.0)	--	5.7	(0.0)	12.5	7.4	(0.0)	(0.0)	9.1
Total	36.9	31.5	9.3	31.3	(30.0)	5.9	42.6	32.7	9.0	32.8	30.0	12.3

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.
[2] Scale Type 5: "I want to quit school right now."

18 per cent of all boys have high quit school scale scores--"I want to quit school right now." Of the 1,530 boys with high quit school scale scores, only 5.1 per cent dropped out of school during the school year and of the 813 girls with high quit school scale scores, only 8.2 per cent withdrew from school during the year. Similarly, only 8.1 per cent of the boys and 5.9 per cent of the girls with high quit school scale scores were truant during the school year. This, on the face of it, suggests that high quit school scale scores are a poor predictor of withdrawl from school or rebellion in the form of truancy. Yet it must be remembered that our statistics are a one year incidence statistic for dropouts and a prevalence statistic for truancy. One would expect that "life" experience rates for the population of school children would show a much higher relationship to quit school scale scores. We therefore would expect that in the long run a much larger proportion of our boys and girls with high quit school scale scores are truant and/or leave school. Many of our boys and girls with high quit school scale scores are too young to legally quit school; some of these undoubtedly will leave school when they reach the legal age to quit. Some indication of why we would expect the experience rate correlation with quit school scale scores to be much higher is found in a further analysis of the quit school scale scores of truants and dropouts. Among boys, 50 per cent of all boys who were both truant and dropped out during the year were in scale type five as were 49.6 per cent of all truant only boys. And 42 per cent of all dropout, but not truant, boys had high quit school scale scores. If one takes the two highest quit school scale scores (not reported in Table IV-15) one finds the comparable percentages are 75 per cent, 73 per cent and 60 per cent respectively. At the other extreme, only 8 per cent of all male truants and dropouts, 4 per cent of all truant only and 8 per cent of all dropout only were in the lowest quit school scale score

group. These percentages should be compared with an overall population rate of 17 per cent of all boys in the lowest quit school scale score group, 26 per cent in scale type four and 17.7 per cent in scale type five.

Furthermore, of the boys 17 years old and over with high quit school scale score--those who legally may quit school--30.9 per cent of them actually did quit school during the one year period! Only 7.7 per cent of all boys 17 years old and over with low quit school scale scores quit during the year.

Finally, if we look at all boys with high quit school scale scores, we find that only 13.8 per cent of them actually are of a legal age to quit school. In point of fact then, over 85 per cent of all boys with high quit school scale scores still have not reached the legal age where they may legally quit school. Assuming a rate of 31 per cent of these boys quitting school at age 17, we can see that the correlation of the experience rate for the population and quit school scale score is much higher than we observed for our one year incidence statistic.

We want to reemphasize however that we would not expect all boys or girls with a high quit school scale scores to withdraw from school before graduation, assuming that we are simply measuring a predisposition to dropout. Other pressures operating on the boys and girls will determine whether they actually do dropout from school, including those of their ascribed social status. It is interesting to speculate on the complex of pressures operating on high and low ascribed status adolescents respectively. We might hypothesize that the legal coercive sanctions are more important than the nonlegal ones in the continued enrollment of low status boys and girls while the reverse is the case for high status ones. The coercive pressures to attend exerted by family, teachers and peers may be so strong on high status boys and girls that legal sanctions are virtually inoperative. And even given the disposition to rebel against the norm, as for example by occasional truancy, the legal sanctions are more often held in abeyance pending the exertion of other pressures for high than for low status boys and girls.

Boys are more likely than girls to express a predisposition to want to quit school as almost twice as many boys (17.7 per cent) as girls (9.3 per cent) had high quit school scale scores. Roughly four times as many of the truants and dropouts among girls had high quit school scale scores and about two and one-half times as many of the boy truants and dropouts as of all other boys had high quit school scale scores.

As one might expect boys and girls from high ascribed social status groups are somewhat less likely to express a strong wish to quit school than are boys and girls of low ascribed social status. The differences are not great however--a range of 13 per cent for boys and only 6 per cent for girls. There is variation too by the prestige contexts of schools, a range of 20 per cent for boys and of 14 per cent for girls, from high to low prestige contexts. The variation is such that boys and girls in high prestige contexts are less likely to express a desire to quit school than are those in low prestige contexts. There is only one exception to the general progression of the proportion with high quit school scale scores increasing as the prestige of the social context decreases. That occurs for boys. Boys in the highest prestige context are more likely to express a desire to want to quit school right now than are boys in the Balanced Middle context. This finding is in keeping with a pattern observed in this study. There is considerable evidence that the boys from the highest status schools, and particularly those who are the high ascribed status boys in the high status school, are somewhat less oriented toward the educational norms of our society than are boys from the more "solid" middle status schools, as Table 15-A shows. The Balanced Middle school context in our society seems to be composed of boys who are on the average the most highly oriented toward the educational goals of our society.

The range of variation for high quit school scale scores is somewhat greater by prestige context than it is by ascribed status for both boys and girls, indicating that context influences the intention to quit school. We can see this somewhat more clearly by comparing boys of ascribed status groups in different social contexts. While only 4 per cent of all high status boys in a Balanced Middle prestige context have high quit school scale scores, 31 per cent of all low status boys in Lower prestige contexts have high scores. It will be recalled that this latter subgroup has the highest rate of dropout and truancy in the total population of adolescent boys. A similar range is found for girls, in fact, an almost identical range.

Context effects on a boy's wish to quit school can be seen too in the effect that context has on a given status group. Taking high status boys only, we find that five times as many high status boys in the Lower as compared with the Balanced Middle context have high quit school scale scores. Or taking low status boys only, we find that only one-third as many of the low status boys in Balanced Middle as in the Lower prestige context have high quit school scale scores. These comparisons suggest too that context is more likely to decrease the desire of high status boys to remain in school than it is to raise the desire of low status boys to remain in school, or vice versa, it is more likely to influence the high status boy to want to quit school than it is to reduce the propensity in lower status boys to want to quit school.

We hypothesized that truants and dropouts would be much more likely to want to express a strong predisposition to quit school than would those who remain and who are not truant. This is generally the case. While one-half of all truant males and 45 per cent of all boys who withdraw from school have high quit school scale scores, only 18 per cent of all other males have high scores. A similar pattern is observed for girls. Using the sign test, we find that the differences are significant, as predicted, for the ascribed status--social status context subgroups except for truant girls. Yet a pattern emerges which suggestsspecification of the relationship. Truants and dropouts of high ascribed status and/or in high prestige contexts are not necessarily more likely to want to quit school. We must accept this interpretation with caution however since the incidence or prevalence of this behavior in these structural contexts is very low. It is apparent, nevertheless, that regardless of ascribed social status the boys and girls who are truant or withdraw from school in the Crosscut/Bottom or Lower prestige contexts are much more likely than those who do not, to express a strong desire to want to quit school. It can be seen, for example, that 64 per cent of all low status dropouts in the lowest prestige context have high quit school scale scores as contrasted with only 31 per cent of all of comparable ascribed status in this context who remain in school. The ratio of 2 to 1 prevails as well for girls in the comparable subgroup. While we do not wish to draw undue attention to this low ascribed status, low prestige context subgroup, it must be recalled that this subgroup has the highest dropout and truancy rate in our population. The fact that almost two-thirds of all dropouts in this context did express a strong wish to quit school some time before they actually did withdraw from school is therefore of considerable significance.

While the analysis of the relationship of quit school scale scores to behavior is a complex one, as we indicated above, a somewhat loose statement of the relationship would lead us to say that if an adolescent from a low ascribed social status (and particularly an adolescent boy) has a high quit school scale score, he or she is very likely at some future date to quit school, particularly when the age at which legal permission to quit school is reached.

The norms of our society require compulsory attendance at school until the legal age for withdrawl is reached. For that matter, schools require attendance on a regular basis so long as the student is registered for credit even after they have passed the legal age for permission to withdraw. Up to the legal age to withdraw however, the norms of our society force the child to attend school on a regular basis. There are other sources of coercion to attend school as we have noted before, at least for a large segment of the adolescent population in our society. One of these is found in other norms of the society which limit the alternative courses of behavior for adolescents in our society, particularly courses of action open to boys and girls living in cities. One set of these norms is found in the child labor laws of the several states which limit the conditions of employment; another is found in the marriage laws which place restriction on the opportunity to contract a legal marriage without parental consent. The effect of these laws is to restrict the adolescent in such a way that he or she had great difficulty in assuming an adult role in our society. The norms of our society treat adolescents as dependents who are supposed to attend school rather than pursue roles which are considered adult roles. Schooling is almost the exclusive transitional role to adult status in our society. A third major source of coercion is found in the limitation of opportunities to assume adult roles which are part of various social structures and organizations in our society. For example it is difficult to get an apprenticeship or membership in some trade unions at a young age even when the child labor laws would technically permit it. Another structural limitation is found in the requirements for a given amount of education or training prerequisite to holding many of the jobs in our society. Thus one is forced to accept education as a means to these goals, or reject the goals. Many middle status children, for example, may not like school and want to quit but they consider the education in the nature of a "union card"--a prerequisite to getting the kind of job they want. They are less interested in educational performance or knowledge than in a diploma or degree. Strong coercive pressures may be exercised by sanctions from the groups in which the adolescent is a member. Thus parents may exert strong sanctions to force the child to continue in school. Even though the child may want to quit and resents these pressures, he does not appear able to accept the sanctions as the "price of his freedom."

This brief statement of the sources of coercion to attend school by no means exhaust the sources of the coercive element in school attendance. From the perspective of American Society, we have institutions requiring compulsory school attendance and forcing a given level of educational attainment. Most organizations of our society which impinge on adolescents integrate these institutional elements within their organization, whether it is the family, the work group or the school. Furthermore in certain segments of our social structure, even the peer group may exert strong pressures to remain in school since school related organizations often are the major basis of adolescent social participation, e.g., school dances and parties or athletic contests. To leave school is to be cut off from these major axis of adolescent activity. This is indeed a strong sanction to contemplate.

We have noted before however that there is an important question as to whether adolescents preceive the situation of attending school as one involving strong elements of coercion. One might maintain that to the degree organizations of our society are successful in integrating this institutional element within their organization, to that degree the activity will not be viewed as coercive. To perceive the arrangement as a coercive one is, from this standpoint, a "failure" of the institutional organization. Moving a step further one may see the organizational integration of the institution as involving coercion without wanting to rebel against the required behavior. Thus, one may perceive the organization as exercising coercive but not want to rebel against participation in it because of the coercive features. Specifically, many boys and girls may not perceive the norms of compulsory school attendance as problematic to them and therefore experience no wish to rebel against it. Others may feel coerced into attending and want to rebel but for various reasons cannot carry their desire into action. Still others may feel the coercion and want to rebel against it. Truancy or withdrawl from school are behaviors which can express this form of rebellion although they may occur for other reasons as well. We sought to assess the extent to which rebellion against the norms is evident in our population by asking a simple yes-no question: "I feel I want to quit school because I am forced to go." It should be noted that this item does not differentiate as to the source of the coercion (forced to go).

Most boys and girls do not express a feeling that they are coerced to attend school if we use this indicator as a valid measure of their feelings that there is coercion against which they want to rebel. Only 13 per cent of all boys and 6.5 per cent of all girls in Tables IV-16A and B respond that they want to quit school as they are forced to go. This feeling varies somewhat with ascribed social status however--from 7 per cent of all high to 16 per cent of all low status boys and from only 4 per cent of all high to 8 per cent of all low status girls. The range for girls is only about one-half of that for boys suggesting again that girls in our society are much more receptive to all school integrated norms. There is an even greater range by social

TABLE IV-16A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(66.7)	(0.0)	6.4	--	--	4.8	--	(0.0)	7.3	(100.0)	--	(33.3)
Balanced Middle	(0.0)	(50.0)	4.3	--	(100.0)	2.9	(0.0)	(0.0)	6.2	(0.0)	--	2.9
Crosscut/Top	30.0	(0.0)	10.8	(66.7)	(010)	6.1	11.1	(0.0)	11.7	(28.6)	(0.0)	14.5
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	21.3	9.2	(0.0)	(28.6)	6.0	(0.0)	14.3	8.8	(0.0)	26.3	10.2
Represent of All	44.4	(0.0)	14.9	(100.0)	--	10.7	42.9	(0.0)	14.1	(44.4)	(0.0)	16.0
Crosscut/Bottom	45.8	48.2	17.3	(40.0)	(50.0)	17.6	38.1	47.6	15.0	52.2	48.1	19.3
Lower	37.4	27.6	21.3	(0.0)	(0.0)	11.5	40.5	31.8	19.0	34.9	27.3	23.8
BNF & RF	29.0	30.4	12.6	--	(0.0)	6.5	33.3	(50.0)	9.2	28.6	26.7	16.6
Total	38.4	30.8	13.1	(38.5)	38.9	7.2	35.4	27.2	12.4	40.2	32.2	17.4

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Table   for percentage bases.

TABLE IV-168: -- PER CENT OF WHITE GIRLS[1] WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	—	(0.0)	0.6	--	--	0.9	--	(0.0)	0.0	—	—	0.0
Balanced Middle	—	(25.0)	4.0	—	(50.0)	3.0	—	(0.0)	5.2	--	—	10.8
Crosscut/Top	(22.2)	(33.3)	4.2	(0.0)	—	3.0	(20.0)	(20.0)	4.1	(50.0)	(100.0)	6.0
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	10.0	6.0	(0.0)	(20.0)	9.8	—	9.1	4.8	(0.0)	8.3	6.3
Represent of All	(12.5)	25.0	6.3	(0.0)	(0.0)	4.7	(0.0)	(33.3)	6.1	(25.0)	(20.0)	7.3
Crosscut/Bottom	33.8	20.9	8.6	(16.7)	(25.0)	5.2	46.4	25.0	8.4	25.0	11.8	9.3
Lower	37.8	29.0	12.6	(33.3)	(0.0)	9.2	52.6	48.0	13.4	20.0	19.3	12.0
HNF & RF	(0.0)	15.4	5.7	(0.0)	(100.0)	9.0	(0.0)	(12.5)	4.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	6.4
Total	30.1	20.9	6.5	12.5	23.8	4.0	43.6	25.7	6.5	21.9	14.6	8.2

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for the percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

context or climate. Only 4 per cent of the Balanced Middle boys as contrasted with 21 per cent of the Lower context boys want to quit school as they feel forced to go. It is to be noted here that Upper and Upper Middle Status boys are more likely to experience some pressures of this kind than are Balanced Middle Status boys--a finding comparable to that of wanting to quit school in the previous discussion. For girls there is a linear relationship between the prestige of the context and feeling of wanting to quit school because of coercive pressures, ranging from less than one per cent of all girls in the top prestige context to almost 13 per cent in the lowest prestige context. Climate of schools apparently has some effect on ones desire to quit school because of a feeling the norm is operated with coercive sanctions.

The combined effects of ascribed status and social climate of school can also be observed in Tables IV-16A and B. Only about three per cent of all high status boys in Balanced Middle Schools as compared with 24 per cent of all low status boys in low prestige schools feel they want to quit school because they are forced to go. For girls, the comparable range is from no middle and low status girls in a high prestige context to 12 to 13 per cent of all middle and low status girls in the lowest prestige context. This range is not any greater than that for contexts alone.

It appears also that the social climate exerts more effect on the low than the high status boys, although the effects are not altogether clear cut given the sampling unreliability of some of the per cents for status-context subgroups. Our data show that the context variation for low status boys is about 21 per cent while it is at most 15 per cent for the high status boys.

We can view truancy as an active form of rebellion against the coercive pressures to attend school. It is available as a solution to the frustration experienced in being forced to attend school to all boys and girls regardless of age. That truancy is to some extent perhaps seen as a solution to this frustration may be inferred from the data in the bottom half of Table IV-17. Up to age 17, the age at which one may legally quit school, both truants and nontruants are more likely to want to quit school as they are forced to go than they are after age 17. We know of course that a substantial proportion of these drop out when they reach age 17. The relationship of age to wish to quit as forced to go is not altogether independent of the social status position of the adolescent however as we can see by examining the data in Table IV-17. The relationship is somewhat more evident for middle than low status boys, and for nontruant than truant boys. Among lower status truants the lowest proportion expressing a desire to quit school as forced to go is found in the 10-13 year old group with a sharp rise in the proportion for the 14 and 15 year old age group of truants; the proportion then remains fairly stable for the 16 year old group, but falls for the 17 year old group. Yet, overall, the proportion wishing to quit school because "one is forced to go" does not vary much by age except that the proportion for seventeen year olds is well below that for other age groups. It simply appears to be the case that the youngest age group of low ascribed social status male truants are much less likely than other age groups of truants to agree that they want to quit school because they feel the coercive pressures of the norm.

There is a substantial relationship between the expression of a wish to quit school as forced to go and truant behavior. As Tables IV-16A and B show, while only 13 per cent of all boys agree with this statement, 38 per cent of all truant boys agree with it. The same pattern is observed for girls; 30 per cent of all female truants but only 6 per cent of all girls. Despite this very substantial relationship between truant behavior and expression of rebellion against the norm of going to school, the relationship does not

TABLE IV-17: -- PER CENT OF WHITE BOYS[1] WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK AND WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO, BY TRUANCY STATUS FOR AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SUBGROUPS: WHITE MALES ONLY

Per Cent Wanting to Quit School and Go to Work	Age Group				Subtotal
	10-13	14-15	16	17	
High Status					
Truant	(100.0)	(50.0)	(50.0)	(50.0)	58.3
Not Truant	13.7	10.7	13.5	11.4	12.7
Middle Status					
Truant	39.1	59.0	78.9	(75.0)	57.7
Not Truant	21.9	21.9	24.3	18.9	23.3
Low Status					
Truant	30.0	61.6	68.0	57.2	59.9
Not Truant	26.8	29.9	32.6	27.7	31.2
Total					
Truant	41.1	60.4	70.8	61.6	58.4
Not Truant	21.7	21.9	24.7	19.9	23.7
Per Cent Wanting to Quit School as Forced to Go	**10-13**	**14-15**	**16**	**17**	**Subtotal**
High Status					
Truant	—	(75.0)	--	—	38.5
Not Truant	8.1	6.4	6.9	6.2	7.2
Middle Status					
Truant	39.1	35.8	26.3	25.0	35.4
Not Truant	12.1	12.5	13.5	6.7	12.4
Low Status					
Truant	20.0	44.6	44.0	35.7	40.2
Not Truant	15.4	17.1	18.2	11.2	17.4
Total					
Truant	35.2	42.3	35.4	26.9	39.1
Not Truant	12.3	12.7	13.8	8.1	13.1

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Table IV-19 for percentage bases.

persist within the 24 ascribed status--school status context subgroups for either boys or girls. The relationship is substantial for all middle and low status subgroups within the Crosscut/Bottom and Lower prestige contexts (the ascribed status--context groups which have the largest proportions of all truants). But, it does not on the whole hold within the high status and high prestige context subgroups, (most obviously not for the girls), although the unreliability of the percentages does not permit an unambiguous conclusion in this respect.

The opportunity to withdraw from school is age related. It therefore is less available as a solution to the feelings of rebellion against coercion to attend school than is truancy. The relationship between dropout status and expressed rebellion against the norm is somewhat attenuated as compared with the relationship between truancy and expressed rebellion against the norm. As for the case of truancy, the relationship is more apparent in the low ascribed status--low school status context subgroups.

We have shown above that less than two-fifths of all truant boys and roughly 30 per cent of all truant girls are to be considered rebellious against the norm of compulsory school attendance by our indicator. And, only roughly 13 per cent of all boys and 6 per cent of all girls indicate a feeling of rebelliousness by this measure, even though they did not openly rebel by acts of truancy or by withdrawing from school during the year (they of course may have rebelled with other forms of behavior such as underachievement in school subjects, malicious destruction of school property, and so on). We wished to see however whether the rebellious behavior characterized as truancy may at least in part be related to accepting a conforming goal in society. We have noted previously that for males in our society the major alternative and conforming goal in our society to that of going to school is that of working at a full time job. The two goals of course are highly integrated with one another in that formal education is a requisite to obtaining many jobs in our society. Yet we sought here to find out whether the adolescents in our society might not on the whole want to accept a work rather than a school role, assuming that work opportunities might be available to them.

As noted previously, the opportunity to work in a full time job or to quit school and go to work clearly is a function of age in our society. Not only do the child labor laws and school attendance laws restrict the kinds of jobs one can take at a particular age and the conditions under which one can assume a full time job, but the social structure placesother restrictions on work opportunitiesapart from legal sanctions. We therefore would expect that the desire to quit school and go to work would vary considerably with age. The closer one approaches in age to the age at which one can quit school and go to work, the more likely one is to experience a desire to quit school and go to work. The data in Table IV-17 does not on the whole lend support to this contention, at least not for white boys. For all white boys, roughly 22 per cent of those age 10 to 13 and age 14 to 15 want to quit school and go to work. There is a slight rise in this proportion for 16 year olds--to 25 per cent of all boys in this age group. On reaching 17, the age when our population of adolescents can legally quit school and go to work, there is a slight drop in the proportion to about 20 per cent of all boys. Within status groups there is not too much age variation within any group since it generally follows the pattern for all boys regardless of status. There is substantially greater variation for truant boys however. Except for high ascribed status truant boys where the number of truants is so small as to render comparisons difficult, truant boys in the 10-13 year age group have the lowest proportion wanting to quit school and go to work. There is a substantial rise in proportion for this 14 to 15 year age group and again a rise for the 16 year age group with the proportion then falling some for the age 17 group. There is no ascribed status variation in the proportion of male truants wanting to quit school and go to work. We find that a somewhat larger proportion of all adolescents would like to quit school and go to work as compared with the proportion who simply want to quit school bedause they are forced to go. For boys, about 24 per cent want to quit school and go to work as compared with the 13 per cent who want to quit as they feel forced to go. The comparable comparison for girls is 15 and 6 per cent.

The desire to quit school and go to work is substantially associated with the ascribed status and social context position of boys and girls as Tables IV-18A and B show, only 13 per cent of all high as compared with 31 per cent of all low status boys want to quit school and go to work; comparable percentages for girls are 8 and 20 per cent. The variation is even greater by the status context of schools, ranging from 10 per cent of all boys in the Upper and Upper Middle status context to about 40 per cent of all boys in the lowest prestige context. There is a similar relationship for girls.

A rather clear relationship prevails between the desire to quit school and go to work and the ascribed social status of boys within each of the eight prestige contexts. The relationship is generally the same for girls. Generally too, within each of the three main ascribed status groups, there is an inverse relationship between the prestige of the context and the desire to quit school and go to work. Both ascribed social status and school social context factors operate on a boys desire to quit school and go to work. A boy is most likely to want to quit school and go to work if he is of low ascribed status and if most other boys in his school and community are of similar status. While less than 10 per cent of all high status boys in the higher prestige contexts want to quit school and go to work, about 43 per cent of all low status boys in the lowest status context want to quit school and go to work. This is a substantial proportion of all boys in this latter subgroup seemingly preferring work roles to school roles. The proportion is particularly large when it is remembered that these boys range in age from 12 to 19 years of age, with a mean age below 15. Since the opportunity to quit school and go to work and the availability of work roles is age related, this means that a substantial proportion of all low status boys, particularly those in the lowest status schools, want to assume a role which they are neither allowed to legally assume nor one for which there are sufficient opportunities in the social structure. Yet lest this point be overemphasized, it must be remembered that this is largely restricted to a single position in the social structure--the lower stratum--and for a type of social climate--the low prestige status neighborhood and school. Overall, the percentage wanting to quit school and go to work is not as great; yet almost one fourth of all boys in our population want to quit school and go to work. If it is remembered that the total population of adolescents enrolled in school already has been decimated by dropouts (the over 17 age group), the percentage for the total population of adolescents undoubtedly is much greater.

For girls of course the alternative of quitting school and going to work is a less salient one. Remember that only 15 per cent of all girls as compared with 24 per cent of all boys express a desire to quit school and go to work. This proportion wanting to quit school and go to work ranges from a low of "none" of the middle and low status girls in the high prestige context desiring this alternative to a high of 31 per cent of all low status girls in the lowest prestige context. Yet for this low ascribed status--low

TABLE IV-18A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT AND TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	(33.3)	(0.0)	10.2	--	--	8.0	--	(0.0)	17.4	(50.0)	--	16.7
Balanced Middle	(50.0)	(25.0)	13.2	--	(0.0)	9.6	(100.0)	(50.0)	16.5	(0.0)	--	25.0
Crosscut/Top	45.0	(44.4)	17.9	(50.0)	(100.0)	13.4	(22.2)	(42.9)	18.4	(71.4)	(0.0)	23.6
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	38.3	19.6	(0.0)	(37.5)	8.0	(0.0)	35.0	18.8	(0.0)	42.1	25.3
Represent of All	44.4	(83.3)	24.1	(100.0)	--	18.8	(42.9)	(66.7)	22.7	(33.3)	(100.0)	25.9
Crosscut/Bottom	67.7	58.9	30.0	(60.0)	(50.0)	19.3	63.4	57.1	28.1	74.5	65.4	33.9
Lower	58.1	59.6	39.5	(66.7)	(0.0)	25.5	58.1	66.7	37.6	58.1	60.9	42.6
RNF & RF	62.1	50.0	24.5	--	(0.0)	8.4	87.5	(75.0)	21.6	50.0	40.0	29.8
Total	58.4	51.8	23.7	58.3	36.8	12.7	57.7	53.2	23.3	59.9	55.2	31.2

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-18B: -- PER CENT OF WHITE GIRLS1/ WANTING TO QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	2.2	--	--	3.0	--	(0.0)	0.0	--	--	(0.0)
Balanced Middle	--	(50.0)	7.7	--	(50.0)	4.7	--	(50.0)	12.5	--	--	10.8
Crosscut/Top	(44.4)	(66.7)	10.6	(50.0)	--	8.8	(20.0)	(60.0)	9.7	(100.0)	(100.0)	14.3
Crosscut/Center	(25.0)	47.1	16.9	(0.0)	(25.0)	7.1	--	40.9	16.0	(50.0)	56.0	22.7
Represent of All	(25.0)	25.0	11.7	(0.0)	(0.0)	9.5	(50.0)	(33.3)	10.1	(25.0)	(20.0)	15.4
Crosscut/Bottom	48.6	34.4	18.6	(50.0)	(25.0)	12.4	50.0	47.2	17.7	44.4	63.1	21.5
Lower	59.5	54.1	25.3	(66.7)	(20.0)	13.8	68.4	60.0	22.0	46.7	54.8	30.7
RNF & RF	(28.6)	50.0	15.2	(0.0)	(100.0)	16.7	(0.0)	42.8	12.1	(40.0)	(50.0)	17.5
Total	48.2	49.3	14.6	37.5	28.5	7.9	52.7	48.1	13.8	45.3	55.3	20.4

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

1/ See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

prestige context subgroup it must be kept in mind that work is clearly seen as an alternative to the pupil role for a substantial proportion of female adolescents. The relatively smaller percentage of girls who want to quit school and go to work as compared with the percentage for boys undoubtedly is in part related to the dual career orientation of girls--work and marriage. The school after all remains one of the principal markets for marriage so far as girls are concerned. The school is the principal source of "dates" for adolescent girls and provides them with a substantial number of "opportunities" to engage in the competitive courtship process.

A substantially higher proportion of truants than of nontruants express a desire to quit school and go to work than want to quit school because they feel coerced to attend (Compare Tables 16 and 18). While 38 per cent of all boy truants want to quit school as they feel forced to go, 58 per cent of them want to quit school and go to work. The comparable percentages for girls are 30 and 48 per cent. Truants are more likely than nontruants of course to want to quit school and go to work. We see in Table 18 that 58 per cent of all truant boys want to quit school and go to work as compared with 24 per cent of all nontruant boys. It is interesting to note that regardless of ascribed social status roughly 55 to 58 per cent of all truant boys want to quit school and go to work while among boys who did not truant during the year low status boys were more likely than high status ones to want to quit school and go to work. Within each ascribed status-status context subgroup where truancy occurs, truants are more likely to want to quit school and go to work than are nontruant boys (significant at .05 level by sign test). The comparable relationship holds as well for girls.

Dropouts are more likely than those who remain in school to want to quit school and go to work (see Table IV-18). Although the relationship is somewhat smaller for dropout than it is for truancy status, it holds generally within ascribed status--status context subgroups. There is some evidence that the general relationship may be stronger for girls than for boys in the low-low context, but this interpretation should be accepted with caution.

We can see then that at least half of all our truants express a wish to leave the conforming role of student and enter an alternate conforming role--the work role. Whether or not those truants who express a desire to enter the conforming work role would become conventional conformers in our society if given the opportunity to abandon the student role, is difficult to say. Our data provide little evidence on this point. Yet two things seem fairly clear. Truancy arises as a form of deviation from violating the norm of compulsory school attendance, the norm which requires them to adopt a conforming student role. We know too that a large proportion of our truants had no other record of delinquency in the sense that they are known to the juvenile court as delinquent offenders. Finally from other studies we know that a large number of ex-truants do, when they leave school, adopt conventional conforming roles in society including that of holding a full time job. At the same time it must be remembered that roughly half of our truants do not express a desire to quit school and go to work, although this is to some extent a function of the age of the truants, since 71 per cent of all truants at age 16 want to quit school and go to work. Hence the more realistic a work role becomes to a truant boy, i.e., the closer he comes to the legal dropout age, the more likely he is to express a wish to quit school and go to work. We might anticipate therefore that the provision of work roles for truant boys at even younger ages might increase their desire to exercise a choice in favor of the work role. It is known from other studies too that families in the lower ascribed social status group in our society are more likely than families at other status levels to want their boys to get jobs at a younger age and that they do not as often resist their sons withdrawl from school to go to work. Among other things, a working son of families of the lowest stratum increases the income available to the family unit.

We have observed that about one half of all truants express a wish to quit school and go to work and that about four-fifths of all truants want to quit school as they feel forced to go. The question naturally arises whether these items discriminate among distinct types of truants in the population: (1) truants who are primarily oriented toward a conforming work role; (2) truants who are primarily what for lack of a better term we may call rebellious-or (3), whether most boys who are truant actually feel both "rebellious" toward the norm and attracted toward the conforming work role. Table IV-19 was prepared to provide some answer to this question. It provides information on the extent to which white male boys, both truants and nontruants, accept either only one, or both, or neither of the alternatives of quitting as forced to go or quitting and going to work. We used truant behavior rather than dropout behavior as the measure of deviation for the reason truancy is available as a deviant behavior solution to adolescent boys of all ages.

Truants are more likely (66.7 per cent) than are nontruants (26.8 per cent) to want either to quit school because they feel forced to go or to quit school and go to work. Yet, only a relatively small proportion of all boys who want to quit for either of these reasons was truant during the year (7 per cent). The wish to quit school for either of these reasons therefore is a poor predictor of the prevalence of truancy in any year, though it may be a more reliable predictor of all forms of deviation related to the school and the community. It is not a much better predictor in the 16 year old age group (8 per cent).

The proportion of nontruants and of truants who want to quit school

TABLE IV-19: — PER CENT OF WHITE MALE TRUANTS AND NONTRUANTS[1] BY RESPONSE TO QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO VS. QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK ITEMS: ASCRIBED OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND AGE CONTROLLED[2]

Occupational Status and Truancy Status	Age					Age				
	10-13	14-15	16	17	Sub-Total	10-13	14-15	16	17	Sub-Total
	High Occupational Status					**Middle Occupational Status**				
Truant	(1)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(12)	(23)	(56)	(19)	(8)	(108)
Yes to Go to Work	100.0	—	50.0	50.0	33.3	21.7	28.6	52.6	50.0	32.4
Yes to Both	—	50.0	—	—	25.0	17.4	30.4	26.3	25.0	25.9
No to Both	—	25.0	50.0	50.0	33.3	39.1	35.7	21.1	25.0	32.4
Yes to Forced	—	25.0	—	—	8.3	21.7	5.4	—	—	9.3
Not Truant	(468)	(687)	(275)	(369)	(1858)	(1031)	(1499)	(604)	(745)	(4031)
Yes to To to Work	8.8	7.1	8.4	8.7	8.2	13.2	13.7	14.9	14.9	14.3
Yes to Both	4.9	3.6	5.1	2.7	4.0	8.7	8.2	9.4	4.0	7.9
No to Both	83.1	86.5	84.7	85.1	84.9	74.7	73.7	71.5	78.4	74.0
Yes to Forced	3.2	2.8	1.8	3.5	2.9	3.4	4.3	4.1	2.7	3.8
	Low Occupational Status					**Total**				
Truant	(10)	(78)	(25)	(14)	(131)	(36)	(144)	(48)	(26)	(261)
Yes to Go to Work	20.0	24.4	24.0	28.6	24.4	23.5	25.0	35.4	38.5	27.6
Yes to Both	10.0	37.2	44.0	28.6	35.9	17.6	35.4	35.4	23.1	31.8
No to Both	60.0	32.1	32.0	35.7	34.4	47.1	32.6	29.2	34.6	33.3
Yes to Forced	10.0	6.4	—	7.1	5.3	17.6	6.9	0.0	3.8	7.3
Not Truant	(634)	(883)	(374)	(448)	(2454)	(2187)	(3149)	(1293)	(1594)	(8641)
Yes to Go to Work	16.4	19.9	20.3	21.0	19.3	13.2	14.1	15.2	15.2	14.5
Yes to Both	10.4	10.0	12.3	6.7	10.1	8.5	7.8	9.5	4.7	7.9
No to Both	68.1	63.0	61.5	67.9	64.6	74.5	73.2	71.0	76.7	73.2
Yes to Forced	5.0	7.1	5.9	4.5	6.0	3.8	4.9	4.3	3.4	4.4

[1] Per Cent base enclosed in parentheses.

[2] Numbers of cases in subgroup to not add to subtotal or total sums because of no age information or "no response" to one or both items.

either to work and/or because they feel forced to go rises somewhat from age 10-13 to age 16 and then drops somewhat for the age 17 group, but the differences are not large for nontruants. These differences hold in the middle and low status but not the high status subgroup. Given the relatively large variation by age for truants however, it suggests that both of these measures--rebellion and accepting an alternate conforming role becomes a more salient choice for truants up to age 16, but that salience changes little for nontruants.

The proportion of adolescent boys agreeing both that they want to quit school because they feel forced to go and because they want to go to work cannot exceed the smaller proportion of the two, in this case the proportion of those who want to quit school as they feel forced to go. Looking first then at those who expressed a wish to quit school as they felt forced to go, among both truants and nontruants a majority of these also said they wanted to quit school and go to work (See Table IV-19). This holds for all age groups with one exception, 10-13 year old truants. The differences are particularly substantial for all other age groups of truants however. Nevertheless, there is some interesting age variation among those who want to quit school only because they feel forced to go, i.e., these referred to as the "rebellious truants." The highest proportion of the rebellious only in any age subgroup is found in the 10-13 year age group (excluding high ascribed status truants of which there are only 12 in all and but one, age 10-13). And, there is not a single instance of a 16 year old truant boy wanting to quit school solely for this reason. Put another way, regardless of status, all of the 16 year old male truants want to quit school and go to work; some of them also want to quit school as they feel forced to go. Boys who truant at an age just prior to the one they can legally quit school then all express an interest in wanting a conforming work role. Just why there should be some 17 year old boys then who should give rebellious "only" responses is not altogether clear except that 17 year old boys who truant could legally leave school so that rebellion in this age group presumably is not against the legal norm.

Given the fact that in almost all age-ascribed status subgroups a majority of all those who feel forced to go also want to quit school and go to work, it follows that a fairly sizeable proportion of all those who want to quit school and go to work will also want to quit school as they feel forced to go (given the 40/50 marginal frequencies of the two items. There nevertheless is some variation by age. Boys age 10 to 13 who want to quit school and go to work are more likely to want to quit school and go to work only. The reverse is the case for the age groups 14-15 and 17 with the two groups equally balanced in the age 16 group. This relationship is not a statistically stable one and does not hold for social status subgroups. In the low status groups, a majority of the 10 to 13 year olds who want to quit school and go to work, want to quit school and go to work only. Then up to age 17, a majority of the boys feel they want to quit school for both reasons, with the two reasons about equally accepted at age 17. But in the middle status group the pattern is less clear for age 14 to 15. While we must be careful therefore in drawing any inferences from these data, it is possible that those under age 13 who truant and respond that they want to quit school and go to work are somewhat less likely to also want to quit school because they feel forced to go than are truants at older age levels.

Looking at the several respondent types resulting from combining responses to the two items: (1) those who want to quit school and go to work; (2) those who want to quit school as forced to go; (3) those who want to quit school as they feel both that they are forced to go and that they want to go to work; and, (4) those who don't accept either reason, by their age and ascribed status, we can draw a number of conclusions from the data in Table IV-19. For nontruants, we are impressed by the general lack of age variation in the proportion in these types. Certainly there is not any substantial amount of variation. Among truants however, regardless of status position, there is a steady increase by age in the proportion of boys who want to quit school because they want to go to work only. We already have noted that the reverse is the case for quit school as forced to go only up to age 16, regardless of status. For boys who give both reasons, the general pattern, regardless of status, is for boys age 10 to 13 to be the least likely to give both reasons, a sharp increase in the proportion giving both reasons in the 14-15 year age group, with the proportion leveling off at age 16 and dropping at age 17.

It is difficult to draw a single unambiguous conclusion from these data about the relationship of accepting conforming goals versus simply rebelling against the norm of compulsory school attendance as factors in truancy. It does seem that the wish to rebel is less of a factor for older than younger truants. The simple "wish to rebel" is held by more of the youngest age group of truants than of truants in any other age group: (1) The wish to "quit school and go to work only" is held least often by them and most often by those in the 17-years-old-and-over age group; (2) Those who hold "rebellious only" attitudes against the norm are a smaller proportion of the truants in any age group than are those who want to quit school and go to work only; (3) In every age group, at least one third of all truants give "neither reason" for their truancy rebellion and, in fact, this is much more true for the younger than the older truant; and (4), the youngest and the oldest group of truants are least likely to "want to quit school for both reasons."

One reason often cited for students withdrawing from school is their dislike of school arising from their poor academic performance. Below we will provide considerable support for the proposition that a large majority of dropouts from school are below average in academic achievement. Our concern now however is with the question of whether the student develops a negative attitude toward schooling because of low academic achievement. If low achievement leads to a strong negative attitude toward schooling, the negative attitude may be an intervening factor disposing the person to withdraw from school. We have but a single indicator of a negative attitude deriving from low academic performance. This is a simple yes or no answer to the item: "I hate school because I am always failing." Always failing of course is the extreme case of low achievement and hate presumably is an extreme form of a negative attitude toward schooling. Some students might develop negative attitudes for low achievement even though they do not fail. Hence we treat this item as if it were isolating only the more intensely negative of the lowest achieving group in school. We therefore do not expect to find large numbers of such persons in school.

In Table IV-20 we see that only a very small proportion of all boys (10.4 per cent) and an even smaller proportion of all girls (5 per cent) express agreement with the item: "I hate school because I am always failing." There is some variation by ascribed occupational status. The variation is from 5.3 per cent of all high status boys to 14.4 per cent of all low status ones with the comparable percentages for girls 2.6 and 7.1 per cent respectively. The ratio of dislike schooling because of failure for high to low status boys and girls therefore is the same, though only half as many girls as boys have a negative attitude toward schooling because of failure. This variation is found within almost all of the status contexts for both boys and girls.

There is however no consistent variation in negative attitude toward schooling because of failure for the prestige rank order of contexts,

TABLE IV-20: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS WHO "HATE SCHOOL BECAUSE I AM ALWAYS FAILING," BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total		Occupational Status					
			High		Middle		Low	
	Drop	Not Drop	Drop	Not Drop	Drop	Not Drop	Drop	Not Drop
	Boys							
Upper & Upper Middle	(0.0)	5.6	--	5.2	(0.0)	4.6	--	16.7
Balanced Middle	(75.0)	4.5	(100.0)	2.4	(50.0)	5.6	--	13.9
Crosscut/Top	11.1	9.5	(0.0)	6.8	(14.3)	8.9	(0.0)	13.4
Crosscut/Center	22.9	7.9	(25.0)	2.8	28.5	7.6	15.8	9.1
Represent of All	(42.8)	9.9	--	3.8	(50.0)	7.9	(33.3)	13.1
Crosscut/Bottom	34.5	12.8	(16.7)	6.7	35.0	11.1	36.0	15.2
Lower	34.0	13.5	(0.0)	7.7	36.4	11.9	36.4	15.8
BNF & RF	30.4	13.0	(0.0)	7.5	(0.0)	10.8	33.3	16.1
Total	30.9	10.4	26.3	5.3	31.6	9.3	30.6	14.4
	Girls							
Upper & Upper Middle	(0.0)	2.5	--	2.6	(0.0)	2.7	--	(0.0)
Balanced Middle	(25.0)	3.1	(50.0)	2.5	(0.0)	2.3	--	15.4
Crosscut/Top	(16.7)	3.4	--	2.1	(20.0)	3.3	(0.0)	4.7
Crosscut/Center	19.6	5.9	(25.0)	3.5	9.1	5.1	28.0	8.1
Represent of All	33.3	4.9	(0.0)	3.5	(66.7)	5.3	(0.0)	4.4
Crosscut/Bottom	16.1	5.9	(12.5)	3.3	13.9	5.0	17.6	7.5
Lower	24.2	8.7	(0.0)	1.5	23.0	8.2	25.8	10.6
BNF & RF	16.7	4.5	(100.0)	1.5	(12.5)	3.5	(0.0)	6.1
Total	20.5	5.0	19.0	2.6	1910	4.6	21.9	7.1

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

proportionately more of the boys and girls in low than in high status contexts have a negative attitude, however. The context variation observed seems almost entirely due to the ascribed status variation. We thus perceive little if any effect of social climate on this negative attitude.

There is a rather substantial relationship between withdrawl from school and holding a negative attitude toward schooling because one is always failing. While only 10 per cent of all boys hold such an attitude toward schooling, 30.9 per cent of all male dropouts expressed such an attitude prior to their withdrawl. And four times as many girls who withdrew from school (20.5 per cent) as of those who remained (5.0) held such a negative attitude before withdrawing. It seems apparent though that the relationship of such a negative attitude to withdrawing from school does not hold consistently for all ascribed status-status context subgroups. While these subgroup percentages are subject to considerable sampling unreliability because of the low incidence of dropout in most subgroups (though it must be remembered we have all dropouts for a single year for our population), there is some evidence in Table 20 to support the contention that this negative attitude is less likely to develop among high status dropouts and for boys and girls in high prestige contexts who drop out than it is for low status and low prestige context dropouts. Nonetheless in our three ascribed status groups dropouts significantly more often held negative attitudes toward schooling because they are always failing prior to their withdrawl from school than do those who remain in school. For a fairly sizeable proportion of both boys and girls then the negative attitude which develops from repeated failure may be a factor in their withdrawing from school. Still it is by no means a single factor causing withdrawl from school for we can see that those who dropout from school are far from a majority of those who express agreement with the attitude that "I hate school because I am always failing."

To what extent then the development of a negative attitude toward schooling is a factor in withdrawing from school we are unable to say. Below we shall see that there is an even stronger relationship between objectively low achievement and withdrawl from school. That is, we shall see that dropouts are more likely to come from the low than the high academic achievement group. Here we have seen that dropouts are more likely to have strong negative attitudes toward schooling because of their extremely low academic performance (as perceived at least by the subject) than are those who remain in school. We know that this attitude prevailed prior to their withdrawl from school since our information on their attitudes was obtained before they withdrew. We know then that those who express this attitude do not do so as a consequence of their withdrawl though it could have come as a consequence of their decision to withdraw at some future date. Many boys may have "made a decision" to withdraw at their first legal opportunity to withdraw even before they entered a junior high school.

Educational Performance and Achievement

Social scientists have demonstrated in the past few decades that there is a rather substantial relationship between academic achievement and performance and the social position a boy or girl's family occupies in the status structure of the community and of American Society. Abrahamson, for example has shown that course grades in school subjects vary considerably with the social class position of the student.[11] Similarly there is evidence from the studies of Warner, Davis, Havighurst and others[12] that the type of curriculum a student chooses to follow in a secondary school, his overall level of academic achievement, his I.Q., and his level of education vary with the status position of the family. Our purpose here is to investigate some of these relationships in greater detail to learn whether variation in them is introduced by the prestige context of the school as well and also to examine the extent to which dropouts and those who remain in school, or truants and nontruants, differ in these respects.

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[11] Stephen Abrahamson, "School Rewards and Social Class Status," Educational Research Bulletin, 31 (1952) 8-15.

One of the common measures of achievement in the acquisition of academic skills used in the United States is the Stanford Achievement test. In our school system this test was given to students in the seventh and eighth grades and the scores are reported as grade-equivalent test scores. In this section we use only the reading score which is a composite of scores on vocabulary and reading comprehension. Table IV-21A and B presents information for those who scored above and those who scored below grade level expectations for their achievement. National norms and not those of our specific school population were used in computing grade-equivalent achievement scores. The overall Davidson County school population is somewhat below the national average in achievement level for any given grade.

Grades in school subjects are a common way to measure academic performance; the grade is a performance score in a particular subject. In this section we use the grade in an English course as a measure of subject matter performance. We chose English grade since it is the subject matter most closely related to the Stanford Achievement score in reading. It must be kept in mind, however, that a grade in English is based on more than reading comprehension and vocabulary--there is grammar, literary interpretation and knowledge of subject matter, and

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[12] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? New York: Harper and Bros., 1942; Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, Society and Education, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1957; Allison Davis, Social Class Influences on Learning, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

TABLE IV-21A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS WITH BELOW AND ABOVE GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST READING SCORES, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
				Below Grade Level								
Upper & Upper Middle	(0.0)	--	18.3	--	--	13.5	--	--	23.1	(0.0)	--	(20.0)
Balanced Middle	--	--	19.2	--	--	11.3	--	--	25.7	--	--	25.0
Crosscut/Top	33.3	--	23.4	(50.0)	--	11.8	(12.5)	--	26.6	(66.7)	--	38.6
Crosscut/Center	(20.0)	47.8	28.0	(100.0)	(20.0)	24.7	(0.0)	40.0	26.0	(0.0)	(75.0)	34.7
Represent of All	66.7	(57.1)	32.5	(0.0)	--	17.9	(100.0)	(50.0)	29.9	(50.0)	(66.7)	41.3
Crosscut/Bottom	67.2	67.6	34.7	(66.7)	(33.3)	21.7	55.2	66.7	31.7	75.0	71.4	39.6
Lower	69.9	74.3	51.0	(33.3)	(100.0)	32.6	71.0	100.0	47.6	72.2	57.9	55.2
RNF & RF	46.7	(100.0)	35.8	--	--	15.4	(25.0)	--	28.6	50.0	(100.0)	46.4
Total	61.5	64.1	32.5	50.0	(33.3)	16.6	58.2	66.7	30.2	64.9	67.3	42.8
				Above Grade Level								
Upper & Upper Middle	(50.0)	--	45.1	--	--	55.1	--	--	32.7	(50.0)	--	40.0
Balanced Middle	--	--	43.6	--	--	56.3	--	--	32.9	--	--	33.3
Crosscut/Top	44.4	--	40.1	(50.0)	--	60.9	(62.5)	--	44.4	(16.7)	--	34.1
Crosscut/Center	(40.0)	17.4	35.4	(0.0)	(0.0)	45.2	(100.0)	40.0	36.1	(33.3)	(0.0)	28.2
Represent of All	13.3	(0.0)	35.7	(0.0)	--	45.3	(0.0)	(0.0)	37.4	(25.0)	(0.0)	29.6
Crosscut/Bottom	7.5	2.7	32.2	(0.0)	(0.0)	41.7	10.3	8.3	35.4	6.3	0.0	27.5
Lower	6.8	5.7	17.5	(33.3)	(0.0)	37.2	9.7	0.0	21.6	2.8	10.5	11.1
RNF & RF	20.0	(0.0)	32.4	--	--	46.2	(50.0)	--	38.5	10.0	0.0	23.8
Total	13.3	6.8	35.0	20.0	(0.0)	51.5	17.7	12.9	36.4	9.3	3.8	25.4

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

TABLE IV-21B: -- PER CENT OF WHITE GIRLS[1] WITH BELOW AND ABOVE GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST READING, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY AND DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

School Social Status Structures	Total			Occupational Status								
				High			Middle			Low		
	Truant	Drop	Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total	Truant	Drop	Sub-Total
							Below Grade Level					
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(0.0)	14.9	--	--	11.4	--	(0.0)	26.5	--	--	20.0
Balanced Middle	--	--	18.1	--	--	12.6	--	--	24.2	--	--	44.4
Crosscut/Top	(40.0)	(0.0)	20.5	(0.0)	--	10.3	(66.7)	--	21.2	(0.0)	(0.0)	29.7
Crosscut/Center	(0.0)	38.7	25.2	(0.0)	(33.3)	14.6	--	27.3	24.7	(0.0)	47.1	30.8
Represent of All	(16.7)	(50.0)	29.0	(50.0)	(0.0)	15.1	--	(50.0)	27.2	(0.0)	(66.7)	38.8
Crosscut/Bottom	49.0	36.1	30.4	(25.0)	(40.0)	17.4	40.9	38.1	27.3	58.3	30.0	37.7
Lower	56.7	61.5	47.1	(66.7)	(75.0)	39.7	46.7	63.6	43.6	66.7	60.0	52.2
RNF & RF	(66.7)	(80.0)	35.5	(0.0)	(100.0)	28.6	(0.0)	(66.7)	30.6	(100.0)	(100.0)	42.5
Total	47.9	48.5	29.1	36.4	50.0	14.8	43.9	48.3	27.8	53.3	50.9	38.9
							Above Grade Level					
Upper & Upper Middle	--	(100.0)	45.9	--	--	50.3	--	(100.0)	32.7	--	--	40.0
Balanced Middle	--	--	42.3	--	--	45.9	--	--	40.3	--	--	11.1
Crosscut/Top	(60.0)	(0.0)	45.7	(100.0)	--	61.9	(33.3)	--	42.7	(100.0)	(0.0)	32.8
Crosscut/Center	(66.7)	19.4	35.1	(0.0)	(0.0)	48.8	--	27.3	35.2	(100.0)	17.6	28.6
Represent of All	(66.7)	(37.5)	37.2	(50.0)	(100.0)	48.4	--	(25.0)	38.1	(75.0)	(33.3)	30.8
Crosscut/Bottom	19.6	19.4	35.1	(75.0)	(20.0)	51.0	22.7	23.8	38.5	8.3	10.0	26.8
Lower	10.0	7.7	18.3	(33.3)	(0.0)	17.2	6.7	4.5	20.9	8.3	8.0	15.3
RNF & RF	(0.0)	(0.0)	30.8	(0.0)	(0.0)	40.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	36.1	(0.0)	(0.0)	23.4
Total	22.4	15.7	35.9	54.5	14.3	51.2	17.1	18.3	36.8	20.0	12.3	25.9

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

other performance criteria such as writing and speaking which enter into grades in courses called English. Table IV-22A and B presents information for those who received an "A" grade and those who received a "below C" grade in the English course for which they were registered at the time they took the Stanford Achievement test.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that girls in American Society are on the average more achievement oriented in school. Tables IV-21 and 22 permit us to clarify somewhat what may be involved in referring to girls as having a higher academic achievement orientation, at least so far as academic performance is concerned. We observe that regardless of their social status there is almost no difference in the Stanford Achievement test performance of boys and girls as measured by reading grade-equivalent scores. But there are very substantial differences in their performance in English classes. Thus, while boys on the average reach the same level of achievement in reading as do girls, either their performance in other areas of "English" or the teacher's perception of their performance is such that they are graded well below girls. The actual Stanford Achievement score comparisons in Tables 21 and 22 show that about 29 per cent of all boys and 32 per cent of all girls are below grade level in reading scores and 35 per cent of all boys and 36 per cent of all girls above grade level in reading achievement. These reading scores are remarkably the same for boys and girls despite a large social status variation in reading achievement. For example, in the low ascribed status subgroup, 17 per cent of the boys and 15 per cent of the girls are below grade level while 52 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls are above grade level in achievement. By way of contrast, the English grade comparisons show that 23 per cent of all boys as compared with only 10 per cent of all girls have "below C" grades in an English course or, but 11 per cent of all boys as compared

TABLE IV-22A: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS WITH AN "A" GRADE OR A "BELOW C" GRADE IN ENGLISH, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

	School Social Status Structures								
	Upper & Upper Middle	Balanced Middle	Cross-cut/ Top	Cross-cut/ Center	Represent of All	Cross-cut/ Bottom	Lower	RNF & RF	Total
Total Boys[2]	327	650	1887	729	874	2023	728	944	8162
"Below C" Grade									
Subtotal									
Dropout	(0.0)	(100.0)	(50.0)	50.0	57.1	57.4	51.4	73.3	55.2
Not Dropout	4.9	18.3	25.7	15.1	20.6	24.3	14.5	40.0	23.3
High Status									
Dropout	--	(100.0)	(0.0)	(12.5)	--	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	43.7
Not Dropout	3.7	11.1	17.3	17.0	14.0	16.2	2.2	33.7	14.4
Middle Status									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(50.0)	50.0	(25.0)	58.8	55.6	(100.0)	52.4
Not Dropout	6.7	26.3	25.6	16.6	20.1	24.7	14.3	36.6	23.6
Low Status									
Dropout	--	--	(100.0)	71.4	(100.0)	40.9	47.1	(70.0)	56.7
Not Dropout	(20.0)	25.8	37.0	17.0	24.0	26.0	15.3	44.3	28.4
"A" Grade									
Subtotal									
Dropout	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.7
Not Dropout	24.8	15.9	11.6	8.6	13.6	9.4	7.2	9.9	11.3
High Status									
Dropout	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0.0
Not Dropout	27.5	19.5	17.7	15.0	24.0	15.3	13.3	23.5	19.6
Middle Status									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	0.0
Not Dropout	19.1	12.0	11.0	7.2	13.6	9.5	8.9	9.0	10.4
Low Status									
Dropout	--	--	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	2.9	0.0	1.5
Not Dropout	(40.0)	9.7	4.6	7.4	8.9	8.3	4.6	7.8	7.3

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

[2] Comparable class grade information was not available for 43 dropouts and 1024 not dropouts.

TABLE IV-22B: -- PER CENT OF WHITE GIRLS[1]/ WITH AN "A" GRADE OR A "BELOW C" GRADE IN ENGLISH, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY DROPOUT STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

	School Social Status Structures								
	Upper & Upper Middle	Balanced Middle	Cross-cut/ Top	Cross-cut/ Center	Repre-sent of All	Cross-cut/ Bottom	Lower	RNF & RF	Total
Total Girls[2]/	296	764	1739	801	906	2083	772	909	8270
"Below C" Grade									
Subtotal									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(100.0)	22.0	8.3	17.3	16.9	40.0	20.7
Not Dropout	2.0	6.9	11.4	8.2	8.2	8.5	6.0	18.7	9.6
High Status									
Dropout	--	--	--	(20.0)	(0.0)	(28.6)	(0.0)	(100.0)	22.2
Not Dropout	1.8	5.4	7.2	3.7	5.0	7.9	5.3	15.3	5.9
Middle Status									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(100.0)	27.3	(16.7)	7.1	20.8	(28.6)	20.9
Not Dropout	1.4	8.0	11.2	7.8	7.1	6.9	6.9	14.9	8.9
Low Status									
Dropout	--	--	(100.0)	4.2	(0.0)	31.2	17.2	(50.0)	20.8
Not Dropout	(16.7)	13.5	16.7	11.0	12.0	10.8	7.6	24.5	13.4
"A" Grade									
Subtotal									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	10.0	16.7	9.6	6.8	10.0	9.0
Not Dropout	42.0	30.4	26.5	24.0	32.1	24.4	19.9	21.7	26.1
High Status									
Dropout	--	--	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(14.3)	(20.0)	(0.0)	11.1
Not Dropout	46.4	33.0	36.8	32.4	41.6	32.2	20.0	28.8	35.6
Middle Status									
Dropout	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	18.2	(33.3)	10.7	4.2	(14.3)	12.1
Not Dropout	30.4	28.2	23.7	24.8	32.1	27.8	24.1	24.1	26.2
Low Status									
Dropout	--	--	(0.0)	16.7	(0.0)	6.2	6.9	(0.0)	5.2
Not Dropout	(16.7)	13.5	20.0	19.8	27.1	18.3	17.1	17.5	19.3

) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.
1/ See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.
2/ Comparable class grade information was not available for 21 dropouts and 608 not dropouts.

TABLE IV-22C: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE BOYS WITH AN "A" GRADE OR A "BELOW C" GRADE IN ENGLISH, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS AND BY TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

	School Social Status Structures								
	Upper & Upper Middle	Balanced Middle	Cross-cut/ Top	Cross-cut/ Center	Represent of All	Cross-cut/ Bottom	Lower	RNF & RF	Total
Total Boys[2]	329	675	1860	732	880	2020	727	942	8165
"Below C" Grade									
Subtotal									
Truant	(33.3)	(50.0)	63.2	(28.6)	43.8	58.2	35.8	73.3	52.9
Not Truant	4.6	19.0	25.3	18.8	20.0	23.8	14.5	39.6	23.1
High Status									
Truant	--	--	(33.3)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	--	30.0
Not Truant	3.7	13.0	16.3	16.8	13.4	18.1	2.2	34.3	14.7
Middle Status									
Truant	--	(100.0)	(71.4)	(33.3)	(66.7)	53.3	50.0	(77.8)	57.0
Not Truant	6.7	26.0	25.4	18.0	19.5	24.4	13.4	35.8	23.3
Low Status									
Truant	(50.0)	(0.0)	(71.4)	(33.3)	(55.6)	64.3	21.2	70.0	51.3
Not Truant	0.0	28.6	36.3	21.3	23.7	24.3	16.5	43.9	28.1
"A" Grade									
Subtotal									
Truant	(0.0)	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	6.3	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.9
Not Truant	24.8	16.2	11.6	8.1	13.7	9.6	7.7	10.0	11.4
High Status									
Truant	--	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	--	0.0
Not Truant	27.5	19.4	17.7	14.0	24.2	15.3	13.3	23.2	19.5
Middle Status									
Truant	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	0.0
Not Truant	18.9	12.1	11.1	6.9	13.5	9.6	9.2	9.1	10.4
Low Status									
Truant	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(11.1)	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.7
Not Truant	50.0	14.3	4.7	6.9	9.0	8.5	5.3	7.8	7.5

( ) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables 5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

[2] Comparable class grade information was not available for 51 truants and 1023 not truants.

TABLE IV-22D: -- PER CENT[1] OF WHITE GIRLS WITH AN "A" GRADE OR A "BELOW C" GRADE IN ENGLISH, BY SOCIAL STATUS STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLS, AND BY TRUANCY STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLLED

	School Social Status Structures								
	Upper & Upper Middle	Balanced Middle	Cross-cut/ Top	Cross-cut/ Center	Represent of All	Cross-cut/ Bottom	Lower	RNF & RF	Total
Total Girls[2]	271	764	1737	799	900	2077	758	965	8271
"Below C" Grade									
Subtotal									
Truant	--	--	(37.5)	(25.0)	(25.0)	35.4	28.1	(40.0)	32.8
Not Truant	1.8	7.1	11.4	8.4	8.1	8.5	6.9	18.0	9.7
High Status									
Truant	--	--	(0.0)	(50.0)	(0.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	16.7
Not Truant	0.5	5.4	7.2	3.7	5.1	7.0	4.9	14.1	5.8
Middle Status									
Truant	--	--	(20.0)	--	(50.0)	19.2	35.3	(0.0)	25.5
Not Truant	4.2	8.3	11.2	8.0	6.9	6.9	6.5	14.9	8.9
Low Status									
Truant	--	--	(100.0)	(0.0)	(25.0)	53.1	21.4	(66.7)	43.9
Not Truant	16.7	13.5	16.7	11.0	12.0	10.8	7.6	22.9	13.3
"A" Grade									
Subtotal									
Truant	--	--	(12.5)	(0.0)	(12.5)	3.1	0.0	(0.0)	3.3
Not Truant	41.0	30.1	26.5	24.0	31.9	24.5	20.2	23.0	26.2
High Status									
Truant	--	--	(100.0)	(0.0)	(50.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	16.7
Not Truant	45.6	32.8	36.7	32.7	40.4	32.5	23.0	36.5	35.7
Middle Status									
Truant	--	--	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	3.8	0.0	(0.0)	2.0
Not Truant	31.0	27.8	23.6	24.6	32.3	27.8	22.6	24.1	26.2
Low Status									
Truant	--	--	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	3.1	0.0	(0.0)	1.8
Not Truant	16.7	13.5	20.0	19.8	27.1	18.3	17.1	19.0	19.5

) Fewer than 10 cases for percentage base.

[1] See Tables IV-5 to 8 for the percentage base for each subgroup.

[2] Comparable class grade information was not available for 14 truants and 641 not truants.

with 26 per cent of all girls have "A" grades in English. Similarly the social status subgroup comparisons disclose that within each subgroup girls on the average are graded much higher than are boys. To illustrate, about 15 per cent of all high status boys but only 6 per cent of all high status girls have "below C" grades, while 36 per cent of all high status girls but only 20 per cent of all high status boys have "A" grades.

There of course is substantial variation in both Stanford Achievement grade-equivalent reading test scores and in English course grades by the ascribed status position of adolescent boys and girls. Low status boys and girls on the average perform poorer in both performance areas than do high status ones. For example, in Tables 21 and 22 we see that the range in "below grade level" Stanford Achievement reading test scores for high and low status subgroups is about 26 per cent for boys and 24 per cent for girls. The similar ranges for "above grade level" performance is 27 per cent for boys and 25 per cent for girls with high status boys and girls of course having proportionately more "above grade level" and fewer "below grade level" performers. Grades in English courses similarly vary with ascribed social status position, though there is a much smaller range for both boys and girls. Thus 14 per cent of all high status as compared with 28 per cent of all low status boys have "below C" grades, a range of 14 per cent. The comparable percentages for girls are but 6 and 13 per cent for a range of 7 per cent. Or taking "A" grades, the range is 13 per cent for boys and 17 per cent for girls, with high status boys and girls having proportionally more of the "A" grades. The smaller range in "below C" grades for girls than boys suggests that teachers are less likely to take account of status origins in assigning poor grades to girls than boys. But the greater range in "A" grades suggests status origins may be more important for grading girls than boys at this level.

We observe then that reading achievement is more clearly related to ascribed social status than it is to performance in a school subject. This suggests that ascribed social status may be more important in affecting a basic skill such as reading than it is in the evaluation of performance in a subject matter course in school which has reading skill as a basic component. Teachers make their evaluations to some extent fit the "reality" of the group of students they are teaching. We shall explore this problem further in Chapter VI.

We investigated further whether performance is affected by the social climate of the school as well as by the ascribed social position of boys and girls. If we take the proportion of all boys or girls regardless of status within each context who perform above or below the norm for boys and girls either in their English grade or their Stanford Achievement reading score as the "expected" performance and then compare the actual distribution of proportions in each ascribed status group in the context with this expected proportion which disregards status, we have a measure of the extent to which status is operating as a factor within each context.

From these comparisons of actual with expected proportions in Table IV-21 we find that high status boys and girls have proportionately fewer "below grade level" and proportionately more "above grade level" students than expected. Correlatively, low status boys and girls have proportionately more below and fewer above than expected. Within the middle status group actual-expected differences are small though a pattern is apparent. Middle status boys and girls tend to get more "below grade level" performers on the average than expected in the high prestige contexts but fewer on the average than expected in the low prestige contexts. The corollary is that middle status boys and girls have proportionately fewer above grade level scores than expected in high status contexts and proportionately more than expected in low status contexts. The same differences hold relatively in Table IV-22 for high and low status boys and girls in performance in English courses, but the differences do not hold for the middle status group.

We are inclined to conclude from these observations that high status boys and girls regardless of context have higher reading scores and better English course grades than we would expect given the distribution of scores for each context and lower status boys correlatively have poorer scores and grades than expected. Ascribed status differences therefore prevail with each context so that context does not eliminate status differences. Middle status boys and girls on the average may do less well in the acquisition of their reading skills than we would expect when they are in a high status context but better than we would expect in a low status context. This however seems to reflect to some degree the relative weight which middle ascribed status persons contribute to the respective contexts.

We observe ascribed status differences in reading scores and English course grades; these differences generally hold within each prestige context. We therefore would expect that the contexts would show a pattern of variation based on their ascribed status composition. For instance, we would expect that above grade level reading scores would be proportionately higher in the top than in the bottom prestige context since proportionately more of the high status adolescents are above grade level in their reading achievement. And this is generally the case for both boys and girls as an examination of Tables IV-21A and B discloses. But, this context variation does not hold within each ascribed status group. Despite this failure in a consistent pattern of context variation, there is a fair amount of variation by context within each status group. The top contexts differ from the bottom ones as expected. But the lack of systematic variation suggests that dimensions other than ascribed status are operating within these school contexts to produce differences in reading achievement. One very interesting context exception to the pattern of variation is found in the fact that the Crosscut/Top context seems to be more productive of high reading skill than any other context . We also would expect from the pattern of ascribed status variation for grades in English courses that there would be substantial patterned variation for prestige contexts in grades in English courses, but this is not the case.

The prestige context nevertheless has some influence on academic performance over and above that which can be attributed to ascribed status. The effect of context on reading skill seems to be greater for low than high status boys but not girls as an examination of Table IV-21 shows. The effect is such as to substantially decrease the proportion of boys with below grade level reading skills in the high prestige contexts and to increase the proportion of high status boys with below grade level reading skills in low prestige contexts. Put another way, given the average performance of boys in an ascribed status group as the "expected" performance in any context, we find that high status boys have proportionately fewer "below grade level" boys in the high prestige contexts than expected and proportionately more in the low prestige contexts. Correlatively, there are proportionately fewer low status boys "below grade level" in high prestige contexts than we would expect and proportionately more above grade level.

These context effects are less clear for course grades in English however. Since there are a number of factors operating on this pattern, we shall delay any discussion of it until Chapter VI, where the complex interrelationship of I.Q., Stanford Achievement test scores and English grades are examined within ascribed social status subgroups.

Deviators who are truant or withdraw from school are lower in performance in both reading and English course grades than are those who conform to the norms of school attendance and completing high school.

Examining first the dropout-not dropout comparisons for below grade level achievers, we find that within each ascribed status group for both boys and girls, the adolescent who withdraws from school is far more likely to be "below grade level" and far less likely to be "above grade level" in reading skill than is the adolescent in school. Examining the ascribed status-prestige context comparisons, we find that in 11 of 12 comparisons for boys and 13 of 16 comparisons for girls proportionately more of the dropouts than of those who remain in school are "below grade level" in their reading scores. The ratio of "below grade level" achievers among dropouts to that among not dropouts is about two to one for middle and high status boys and girls. The ratio is smaller for the low status subgroup and interestingly enough it is particularly small in the low ascribed status-low prestige context, a subgroup where a substantial proportion of all dropouts occurs. Similarly, boys and girls who withdraw from school are less likely to have "above grade level" reading scores than are those who remain in school (comparisons significant at .05 level using a sign test). We would conclude therefore that boys and girls who withdraw from school are less likely to achieve a grade equivalent score in reading than are those who remain in school. In fact, 60 per cent of all boys who withdrew and 48 per cent of all girls who withdrew had "below grade level" scores in reading. And only 14 per cent of all boys and 22 per cent of all girls were "above grade level" in their reading skill. Nevertheless, reading skill is a poor predictor of withdrawl from school in the sense that a large majority of all "below grade level" readers remain in school.

Examining the truant-nontruant comparisons for reading achievement skills we find that truants are more likely than nontruants within each ascribed status group, to be "below grade level" and less likely to be "above grade level" in reading skill. The differences are substantial, though less marked than for the dropout comparisons. A comparison of truants and nontruants within the ascribed status-prestige context subgroups shows that this relationship is not independent of the prestige context. The relationship generally holds for the low ascribed status-low prestige context, but it is less likely to hold for the high-status--high prestige contexts. Thus it appears to be largely the low status truant boy, and to a lesser extent truant girl, in the low prestige schools and neighborhoods who are relatively poorer in their reading skills. Their relatively lower reading skill suggests that these truant boys and girls may have a relatively low skill because of their relatively lower motivation to attend school but also partly due to the fact that they are less often exposed to continuity in the learning situation.

When comparisons are made between dropouts and not dropouts of their grade performance in English classes, we find a strong relationship between ascribed status and course grades. In the high status subgroup for both boys and girls, about three times as many of the dropouts as of the not dropouts have "below C" grades. A ratio of two to one prevails for the middle and low status subgroups. "A" grades in fact were not given to any male dropouts except for a few in the low ascribed status-low prestige context subgroup. The same strong relationship is found for the truant-nontruant comparisons. Again almost none of the male truants received an "A" grade except for a few low status boys in the Representative of All and Lower prestige contexts. While somewhat more of the female truants and dropouts than of the male truants and dropouts received "A" grades in English, the general relationship prevails. All of the ascribed status-prestige context subgroup comparisons for truant and dropout comparisons are significant at the .05 level using the sign test.

It is not altogether clear why almost none of the truants and dropouts get "A" course grades in English. A number of explanations suggest themselves but they do not apply equally to truants and dropouts. By way of illustration, we might expect that truants would not do "A" course work since they are absent at least part of the time. But most dropouts were in school continuously and their course grade in English was not even for the semester in which they left school; in many cases it was a grade received some several years prior to their dropout since it generally was a seventh, eighth or ninth grade English course for which the grade was obtained (the grade during the semester in which the reading test was taken). It is possible that teachers perceive generally "anti-school" values in essays, themes, recitation, and other school or class behavior of the truants and dropouts and accordingly grade them "down" relative to other students. Or it is possible that none of these truants or dropouts competitively earns an "A" grade by objective grading standards. At any rate our data clearly show that boys who truant or withdraw from school for some time have been relatively low performers relative to all students in their social status and school context. Whether the low performance is largely due to low motivation and the possession of inferior skills or to the teacher's evaluation of them as poorer performers because of their low motivation or to a combination of both, poses an interesting question for further study.

Summary

This chapter assesses the relative influence of the ascribed status position of adolescents on their educationally oriented behavior and attempts to learn whether the prestige status context of the school and neighborhood to which they belong has an important effect on their adherence to educational norms, their adolescent achievement goals and their academic performance and achievement. These comparisons are made for truants and dropouts as well. Attention also is given to the question of what the combined effect of ascribed social status and prestige context is on the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy during a period of one school year.

There is substantial variation in the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy by school context. For boys and girls, the rate of dropout and of truancy is lowest in the top prestige context and highest in the lowest prestige context. There are other contexts which produce a comparatively high rate of dropout, however. The dropout rate is comparatively high for the vocational and technical high school which is a Crosscut/Center context school. We also note that the prestige context exerts a strong effect on both truancy and dropout rates independent of ascribed status position. The effect generally is to increase the dropout and truancy rates of high status students in low prestige contexts and to decrease the dropout and truancy rates of low status students within high prestige contexts.

Investigation shows there are substantial ascribed social status and school prestige context effects on the educational norms adhered to by adolescents, their educational achievement goals and their academic performance.

Chapter V

The Effect of Social Position on the Educational and Vocational Goals of Conformers and of Delinquent and Truant Deviators

A number of sociological theorists of deviant behavior emphasize that deviating behavior results from the disjuncture between culturally prescribed goals and socially organized access to them. As Merton succintly states this position: "It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale."[1] The theoretical focus in this approach is to examine how the social structure exerts a strain in the society toward anomie or normlessness, this anomic state of society in turn is seen as the source of an increase in the incidence of deviating behavior. Attention then focuses on locating where in the social structure the disjunture between culturally prescribed goals and socially available means is greatest since this is the point in the structure at which the deviating behavior related to these norms should produce the highest experience rate for the population.

The dominant educational goal in American society is to strive for higher education. This goal can be seen in various requirements of our society. The legal norms of the society require attendance at school until a minimum age is reached. Many jobs require educational prerequisites. The educated man, is respected, particularly if he can apply his knowledge. In many other ways too our cultural practices emphasize the relatively high value placed on striving for an education. Education is valued both as an end in itself and as a means to other ends in our society. It is a culturally prescribed goal in our society in at least two senses: that all persons must have a minimum of education for participation in a democratic society and, in that higher education is an end and a means to ends which are highly valued in the Society.

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[1] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 131-194.

It is commonly accepted as fact that the amount of education one gets strongly determines one's social position in society. This relationship stems in part from the fact that the means for getting an education are not equally available to all in the society. In the simplest illustration, not everyone can afford a college education even at our public institutions of higher education. In educational circles this is often spoken of in terms of a loss in talent due to the inability to "afford" a college education. Furthermore, there are other pragmatic and cultural restrictions on continuing education which operate as barriers to reaching the goal. The means for getting an education therefore also vary with one's social position in society.

Sociologists have pointed out that the goal of getting an education is internalized somewhat more by middle status than lower status boys and girls, but that in general all adolescents in our society regardless of status more or less internalize the goal of "getting an education." The primary ascribed status differences therefore occur not so much in the acceptance of the goals but in the availability of the means for getting an education and in the structural limitations on individual academic performance and achievement. The school system with its primarily middle status personnel is more likely to reward the performance and achievements of middle rather than low ascribed status students since the middle status students are in a more favored position to compete in terms of the standards of an academic environment. Furthermore, the values and goals of the lower status boy and girl are perhaps less instrumental in getting an education than are those of the middle status person. Finally as Havighurst and Neugarten suggest, "The school preserves the status quo by placing children of similar social status together..."[2]

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[2] Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, The School in the Social Structure, op. cit., p. 240.

Cohen advances the idea that the working class boy is more likely than his middle class peers to find himself at the "bottom" of the status hierarchy whenever he comes into contact with the middle class environment. The school is one such middle class environment so far as standards of achievement and personnel are concerned. In the school, the low status boy in particular is often at a status disadvantage because of his inability to successfully compete with middle status boys and girls especially in terms of the behavior required by the middle status personnel of the schools. His manners, speech, motivation to learn, and knowledge acquired in the home and community is evaluated not in lower status but in middle status value terms. But, "To the degree to which he values middle-class status, either because he values the good opinion of middle-class status persons or because he has to some degree internalized middle-class standards, he faces a problem of adjustment and is in the market for a "solution" ".[3]

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[3] Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, p. 119.

In general, Cohen maintains there are three possible solutions to this status problem or dilemma. There is the college boy solution where the lower status boy accepts the middle status standards and conforms to the behavior expected of him; he then becomes upward mobile. There also is the stable corner-boy solution which offers a set of goals alternate to those of middle class status; these substitute goals make the achievement of middle class status unlikely since their desired states are considered undesirable in middle status terms, e.g., they devalue education and sanction truancy. And finally there is the subcultural delinquent solution, a type of reaction formation in which the antitheses of middle class standards are adopted as the goals to be achieved; the delinquent gang therefore confers status for deviation from achieving middle status goals, a conferred status which substitutes for the status which is denied in the larger society.

These several theoretical approaches commonly emphasize that the culturally approved means to the ends of education in American society are limited by a restriction on the legitimate opportunities for getting an education, the means to the ends of education. Such restrictions are particularly to be found in the system of social stratification--the social status structure--of American Society.

In general then this common body of theory maintains that there is a disjuncture between the culturally approved ends of society, in this case educational goals, and the means for getting them--opportunities for getting an education and rewards for academic performance and achievement. It also is maintained that the status structure is a particular source of such restriction. In this chapter therefore we shall examine the effect of one's status position on the acceptance of education goals, the differentials in achievement in reaching them, and the extent to which there is less orientation toward them on the part of truant and delinquent boys and girls.

Merton's theoretical approach to the study of deviant behavior makes it a "...primary aim to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming conduct. If we can locate such groups peculiarly subject to such pressures, we should expect to find fairly high rates of deviant behavior in these groups, not because the human beings comprising them are compounded of distinctive biological tendencies but because they are responding normally to the social situation in which they find themselves."[4] This chapter investigates the extent to which deviant behavior varies with the social position of an adolescent in American Society. The social positions used to characterize individuals are race, sex and occupational status of father (used as the ascribed status position of the adolescent). Since we examine the variation in conforming and nonconforming behavior for aggregates with the same race-sex-ascribed status position our purpose is to locate groups which are peculiarly subject to strains toward delinquent and truant deviation. Our investigation though will not answer the question why some social positions are more conducive to deviant behavior than others. We do not have information to explain the structural variation which we observe, though our investigation of the values, goals and achievement patterns of persons in these positions may aid us in inferring an explanation.

We have noted that we would expect structural variation in the goal orientation, achievement and performance patterns of adolescents in different social positions in American Society and that these in turn would be related to their deviating behavior. In this chapter we have selected certain conforming goals and means related to getting an education and selecting a vocation. If the deductions from our theory are correct we would find that there was less structural variation in goal orientation than in achievement or performance, although there might be some structural variation in goal orientation related to the content of norms. Deviators however should be less likely than conformers to be achievement and performance oriented, despite their relatively general acceptance of the goals of society. We examine structural variation for three characteristics of the social position of adolescents--their sex, race and ascribed social status. In addition, we examine variation by their I.Q. Our reason for including I.Q. here is that we can regard it to some extent as an indicator of a social position within the school and particularly in the classroom. Both teachers and peers assign social position in terms of learning abilities--there are social valuations on "brightness" in an intellectual or learning sense. Yet it should be recognized that these characteristics cannot be isolated from others in the measure. The two measures of deviation employed in this chapter are truancy and delinquent modes of deviation. By definition, all nondelinquents and nontruants respectively are designated conformers.

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[4] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op. cit., p. 132.

To designate delinquents and truants as deviators and the residual population as conformers does not imply any absolute standard of conformity. Rather conformers are defined solely in the sense of the absence of a behavior manifestation, given our operational definitions of truant and delinquent behavior. Furthermore, conformity clearly is relative to a norm. In the case of delinquents, it is relative to the legal norms of respect for certain person and property rights as legally defined and administratively applied. In the case of truancy, a similar standard applies. Conformers simply are those who conform to the norms of compulsory school attendance. A word then about our operational definitions of delinquency and truancy.

The legal norms of American Society generally require that adolescents attend school until they are 16 or 17 years of age. Exceptions are made in some states so that an adolescent may hold a part- or full-time job if he attends some classes for continuation of his education. For our population, Tennessee law requires compulsory school attendance until age 17. Enforcement of this law therefore creates a special class of deviators--the truants. Not all failures to comply with the law, i.e., technical acts of truancy, are equally likely to lead to a definition of a person as a truant. A large variety of definitions of the act can intervene between the behavioral act and the definition of a deviator as a truant. There are at least four classes of truants recognized by the attendance officers in the Nashville and Davidson County school systems. It can readily be seen that each of these classes of truancy imputes motivation to failure to attend (the legal definition requires it) and circumstantial or situational elements also are taken into account in defining an adolescent as a truant. There is the child who is thought of as persistently and flagrantly, or wilfully, violating the compulsory school attendance laws so that legal action is taken to file an habitual truant petition with the Davidson County Juvenile Court. Such action is generally not taken unless the judgement is made that either the parents are "unwilling" or "unable" to cope with the deviating conduct. There is secondly the child for whom truancy is seen as a part of a delinquency pattern so that truancy is not seen as the principal problem; these are the delinquent truants. Truancy may manifest itself in the sporadic form of absence from school without a "valid excuse." These periodic absences are generally followed by periods of regular attendance so that the pattern is not generally viewed as a "persistent" one; these are called the sporadic truants. Finally, some truancy occurs as a patterned evasion either with peers on particular days designated as "skip school" days, or as a response to occasional adult or peer pressures to remain away from school. "Mother said I could go shopping" (it is close to Christmas) or "I stayed up too late and didn't get up until noon" (after a basketball game) are examples of the kind of excuse offered on these occasions. These patterns of evading attendance at school and the excuses offered are shared within the common culture of adolescents and recognized "for what they are," viz., patterned evasions, on the part of school personnel. Patterned evasions are not defined as acts of truancy leading to a definition of the person as a truant however. Rather the person generally is reprimanded and no report of truancy is made. For our population the first three types of truant behavior were used to define a boy or girl as truant if the act occurred on two or more occasions during the school year. A single year was used to identify truants from the records of the Attendance Division of the Nashville City Schools and the Attendance and Child Welfare Division of the Davidson County schools. We thus have a school year prevalence rate of truancy for our population. As pointed out in Chapter IV, we know that not all adolescents who were truant in past years were truant during the school year to which our measure of deviation applies. Our residual group of conformers therefore includes some boys and girls who have been truant in the past and some who will be truant in later years. We do not have either an incidence or an experience rate for our population therefore.

Delinquents were defined for purposes of analysis in this section as those boys and girls who at some time since their twelfth birthday were referred to the Davidson County Juvenile Court and who were either officially or unofficially adjudged a delinquent person. An adolescent is officially adjudged a delinquent person if a hearing is held and the judge of the court enters a judgement of delinquency together with a disposition as a matter of court record. A boy or girl is unofficially designated a delinquent person if the investigation by the probation officer leads to a definition of the person as having committed a delinquent act which does not "require" official action by the court or one in which the court cannot take legal action. There are times for example when the court cannot take legal action because counsel for the delinquent person questions whether the nature of the evidence is sufficient for a judicial determination of delinquency and the court may concur that it is not. This kind of situation arises most frequently when a delinquent implicates others in his acts of delinquency. There is no additional evidence other than that the boys who were implicated "confess" to the act. Later, on advice of legal counsel, the "confessors" refuse to enter a legal confession and the court is left, in effect, without sufficient evidence to "prosecute." This kind of situation is more likely to arise for a middle than a low status adolescent however since low status adolescents seldom retain counsel. The court keeps an unofficial record of all cases where evidence was deemed "insufficient" to adjudge the boy as a delinquent and they are included here as acts of delinquency.

It is quite apparent also that we lack evidence to calculate a delinquent behavior experience rate for the population since it is likely that many acts of delinquency occur without the court knowing of the occurrence of the act. There is of course considerable difficulty in assessing the extent to which any juvenile court statistics on delinquency include all cases of a given kind of behavior in a residence area which the court would, if it had the information, adjudge as delinquent. Sociologists have offered evidence that official juvenile court records on delinquency underestimate the volume and rate of delinquency in an area. Kobrin, for example, provides evidence to suggest that in areas of Chicago with high rates of delinquency the official statistics show that about one-fifth of all boys are classified as delinquent but that when "...the most inclusive measure based on official records is used, not one-fifth but almost two-thirds of the boys in delinquency areas may be regarded as official delinquents."5/ Kobrin asserts further that even this inclusive measure does not include many juveniles who never are apprehended; thus the rate for some of these areas would be greater than the two-thirds observed for the court records. Our data of course are not for all boys in an area but only for all boys who remain in school. Furthermore they are not age specific rates, and we know that the rate rises also with age. As Kobrin notes, there is a tendency for the juvenile courts "...to deal primarily with the more serious and persistent offenders..."[6] Vold in his discussion of Kobrin's contribution observes that Kobrin's statistics on "undetected" delinquency do raise the question of "how delinquent does a boy need to be before he is called a delinquent.[7] Vold further observes:

> "Is a boy delinquent whenever a social worker, or a neighbor, or some other citizen, so reports him? If that criterion is accepted, it seems clear that the proportion of the total number of individuals in any area called delinquent would be greatly increased. It might even be true that the majority of all juveniles in all areas would be found to be delinquent---in which case one would be confronted with the awkward conclusion that all areas are delinquency areas."[8]

There is a real problem here then of what is meant by a delinquent boy , and given an inclusive definition like Kobrin's, a question of how many boys of this kind we have failed to include in our population of delinquents. In Chapter VI we shall try to assess the nature of this loss by examining interview data on self-reported acts of delinquency. What we report and analyze in this chapter is an experience rate of court "recorded" delinquency. It is known that such an experience rate varies somewhat with age but not very greatly in the

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[5] Solomon Kobrin, "The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951), 653-661.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 655.

[7] George B. Vold, "Discussion", *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951) p. 661.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 661.

sense that almost every boy on first admission to the court, regardless of his age at admission, has had prior experience in acts of delinquency. Hence age of the delinquent is not an important factor in this sense. For a number of the tabulations in this chapter, we did control on age because we though it would make a difference in the general relationship. Our conclusion is that there is some slight variation perhaps in the magnitude of the relationship but none in direction. For this reason we do not report most analyses by age.

The operational measures of social position are described in the following manner. Race is a twofold distinction of Negro and white. Negroes were identified by their attendance at segregated schools, since none of the schools was desegregated. Sex status was obtained from the cumulative record folder of the adolescent, except in those instances where we were unable to match the schedule with a cumulative record folder we used the subjects self report of sex status. There may be a small amount of deliberate distortion of sex status for this latter group but the number of cases involved would be very small. Ascribed social status is based on the occupational status of the father. In contrast with the threefold distinction used in Chapter IV, for the most part in this chapter we employ a two-fold ascribed status distinction--white-collar and blue collar status.[9] We dichotomize ascribed status in this chapter solely as a matter of convenience of analysis. A threefold division yields too few cases in certain of our subgroups, particularly for Negroes, since Negroes are a relatively small part of our total population. I.Q. is divided into three major categories: low I.Q. includes scores of 89 and below; middle I.Q., scores of 90 to 109 and high I.Q., scores of 110 and above.

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[9] White-collar includes professional, managerial, proprietary, official sales, clerical and kindred occupations. Blue-collar includes all other occupations.

Rates of Deviating Behavior and Life Circumstances: Dropout and Truant Behavior

In Chapter IV we showed that dropout and truancy rates varied by sex, ascribed social status and status context of the school or neighborhood. Our conclusion was that there was only a very small sex variation in dropout rate, but that high ascribed status boys and girls were less likely to withdraw from school than were low status ones. Furthermore, it was seen that the prestige status context of the school influenced the rate of dropout independent of ascribed social status. For both boys and girls the incidence of dropout is lowest in the highest prestige context and highest in the lowest prestige context. In contrast with the pattern for dropout, we find a substantial sex difference in the prevalence of truancy. The rate of truancy is twice as high among boys as among girls. There is a fair amount of variation by ascribed social status with high status boys and girls having lower rates of truancy than low status ones. But there remains substantial variation due to the status context, so that one is less likely, regardless of status, to be a truant if one is in a high than in a low status context. In brief, we can conclude that the structural variation in dropout and truant deviation is such that the parents of high status boys and girls run a greater risk that their children will deviate from the norms of school attendance and completing their secondary education if they send them to a low prestige school than if they send them to a high prestige one. Correlatively, a low status adolescent is less likely to deviate from these norms if he attends a high than a low prestige school. We concluded that there are structural factors operating on dropout and truancy deviation since the incidence of dropout and the prevalence of truancy varies both by status position and by the prestige status of the school or neighborhood. Below we shall investigate the extent to which delinquent behavior varies with race, sex, and ascribed status positions and with the prestige status of the school or neighborhood.

Experience Rates of Delinquency and Life Circumstances: Juvenile Court Statistics

The theoretical justification for an examination of the experience rates of delinquency in different social groups or social positions is to discover whether the life circumstances in these different social groups or positions generates different amounts of delinquency. To obtain valid differences in the rate of delinquency among different social groups requires a valid measure of the amount delinquency in a given period of time. The measure of a delinquent person chosen for this part of the study is the judgement of the juvenile court that an act of delinquency has been committed by a person. All other persons are by definition treated as nondelinquent, though this does not mean that many of them did not also commit acts of delinquency. The measure of the amount of delinquency committed is an experience rate for the population based on the number of delinquents known to the court.

Such a rate may be a very poor indicator of the experience of delinquency in the total population as we noted above. We do not believe that the "bias" in these statistics is as great as is sometimes assumed from information from previous studies. At least there may be an important qualitative difference between those adolescents who are generally referred to the court and then defined as delinquent and those who may commit an act of delinquency but not come to the attention of the court. This problem is investigated in Chapter VI for a sample of our white males.

Reckless has argued that our data on delinquency rates designate categoric risks in the population for being reported to a juvenile court. "The only safe way one can consider delinquency as revealed in the reporting process is to conceive of it in terms of differential risk to be reported upon: certain classes of children get reported more often than others for very real reasons."[10] This point of view maintains that one should be extremely hesitant about accepting differences between delinquents and nondelinquents as indicative of causation of the act of delinquency or of delinquent behavior. Rather, the point of view argues that the differences in rates for different life circumstances explain how one gets to be selected as a delinquent by the juvenile court. This position clearly needs to be kept in mind in an evaluation of the part differences in life circumstances play in determining the experience rate of delinquency. Alternative explanations can be found for the differences in rates of delinquency for different life situations observed in this chapter. We have no clear means for differentiating among them.

In Chapter II we noted that for a number of reasons we cannot be assured that even our count for juvenile court cases is complete. And there are important reasons for concluding that selectivity operates not only in referral to the court but also in the way in which the court deals with cases. We have tried to overcome the bias involved in the way the court handles cases by taking all cases which had been referred to the court and where some presumption of fact that delinquent acts were committed existed. Nonetheless our count probably is not a complete one. This fact of an incomplete count is relatively unimportant in computing an experience rate for the total population, particularly where the number of cases of delinquents is large and where the differences between groups is large. But we attempt to make a much more detailed analysis than that in this chapter. Our purpose is to take a relatively large number of social positions and observe variation in rate of delinquency among them. Often however this means that the number of cases in a particular social position is very small and though we then may observe differences in rate between positions, the statistical reliability of the rate may be low. Quite obviously in such instances the biases which operate in cases of this kind could easily alter our observed rates. On the face of it this suggests that in the interest of caution we ought not to interpret such differences.

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[10] Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1950, p. 194.

We have not followed the dictates of this position however to the extent of ignoring such differences altogether. Rather what we have tried to do is to begin with aggregative differences in rates for social positions which are large and statistically significant ones. Then we have proceeded to observe whether these differences in rates hold when they are observed for a social position which is a combination of two or more of these social positions. For example, we observe differences in rates for sex and ascribed occupational status groups. We then ask whether these hold in each of the sex-ascribed occupational status groups. Now the number of cases in some sex-occupational status groups will be small, as for example for high ascribed status girls, but if the predicted pattern for this group holds, we tentatively accept it as a valid difference. Similarly we are inclined to focus on differences between extreme groups and to place less emphasis on the gradient of differences, since the gradient pattern can more easily be changed than the differences between the extremes of the gradient. Nonetheless, we want to urge the reader to remember that an examination of our tables will show that the number of cases involved often is very small.

There is one other problem to which we must refer and this poses an additional restriction on our inferences. Our information for social positions is not complete for the entire population. Thus there are a fairly large proportion of cases for which we lack I.Q. information, somewhat fewer for which we lack occupational status information, almost none for which we lack either race or sex information, and none for which we lack prestige status information for schools. The absence of information for particular positions therefore can affect our rates since it includes absence of information for both delinquent and nondelinquent cases. We have proceeded with an analysis for these subgroups however since the differences in rates for the aggregate of a subgroup for which information is missing is not substantially different from the data for the aggregate as a whole. In fact, we have taken the position that such differences must be roughly one-half of one per cent or less on the average. The possibility remains though that our subgroup differences are affected by the incomplete information available.

The most apparently serious limitation on our drawinginferences about structural variation in delinquency in the population is the fact that our data are for that population of adolescents only who took our questionnaire. This means that all those who did not take our questionnaire either because they no longer were in school or because they already had left school are not included in our population for which delinquency rates are computed. We are not inclined to view this limitation as a serious one however except so far as the size of the rate of delinquency is concerned. There is good reason to believe that the rate of delinquency is higher in the not in school than in the "within school" population. This is so far a number of reasons. The out of school population is on the average older, male, and of low I.Q. and low social status. We show below that the rate of delinquency is higher in each of these subgroups. Thus the rate for all adolescents and for these particular subgroups must be higher than it is for our in-school adolescents alone. We do not consider it a serious limitation in observing the pattern of delinquency variation however precisely because this line of reasoning suggests the effect of having information on the total population of adolescents will be to increase the reliability of our observed differences (largely by increasing the rate of delinquency for low ascribed status adolescents, particularly adolescent males) and therefore, if anything, to increase our confidence in the reliability of our observed differences. The reader may attempt to reach a similar conclusion by using rates for dropout groups in Chapter IV as a basis for establishing a set of expected values of delinquency for various subgroups in the population. Put another way, the restrictions on test conditions posed by the data make it more difficult to show variation in delinquency by positions in the social structure, particularly for boys in the low ascribed socioeconomic status subgroups.

Tables V-1 and 2 present rates of delinquency for the 99 per cent of the adolescent population for which race and sex information is available. Information on ascribed status position is available for 96.7 per cent of all adolescents in the study population. The statistical reliability of the rate for any subgroup is of course affected to a substantial degree by the number of cases in any subgroup. There is such a marked structural concentration of all delinquents known to the court in our total population that detailed examination of variation in rates of delinquency is difficult for many subgroups in the social structure. By way of example, of all delinquents in our study population handled by the juvenile court, 71.1 are white boys. An additional 11.8 per cent are Negro boys, giving a total of 82.9 per cent of all cases as boys. This aspect of the structural concentration of delinquency known to courts is well documented of course. Of the remaining cases of delinquency, 11.8 per cent are white girls and only 4.3 per cent are Negro girls. Further differentiation of these race-sex subgroups by ascribed status or other structural variables means that the rates for many of these race-sex-ascribed status groups have a high degree of unreliability. Since where the

TABLE V-1: -- RATE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY* PER 100 ENROLLED IN SCHOOL FOR RACE, SEX, AGE AND ASCRIBED STATUS SUBGROUP POSITIONS IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Race, Sex and Ascribed Status	Age											
	10-13			14 & 15			16 & Over			Total		
	No. Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	No. Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	No. Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	No. Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100
White Males												
High	3	481	0.6	15	710	2.1	40	670	6.0	61	1924	3.1
Middle	32	1073	3.0	97	1605	6.0	108	1416	7.6	246	4258	5.8
Low	17	658	2.6	97	989	9.8	88	870	10.1	209	2642	7.9
Subtotal	53	2281	2.3	218	3407	6.4	244	3040	8.0	528	9239	5.7
White Females												
High	1	625	0.2	--	568	0.0	4	579	0.7	6	1907	0.3
Middle	10	1312	0.8	22	1528	1.4	15	1366	1.1	47	4352	1.1
Low	9	728	1.2	21	961	2.2	8	756	1.1	42	2527	1.7
Subtotal	20	2699	0.7	45	3093	1.5	27	2716	1.0	95	8925	1.1
Negro Males												
High	1	43	2.3	--	35	0.0	1	37	2.7	2	121	1.7
Middle	8	126	6.3	12	180	6.7	10	135	7.4	30	473	6.3
Low	12	219	5.5	23	267	8.6	19	289	6.6	56	855	6.5
Subtotal	21	419	5.0	37	507	7.3	30	477	6.3	88	1550	5.7
Negro Females												
High	--	45	0.0	1	48	2.1	--	25	0.0	1	120	0.8
Middle	1	173	0.6	2	204	1.0	2	127	1.6	6	539	1.1
Low	6	323	1.9	10	369	2.7	9	282	3.2	25	1053	2.4
Subtotal	7	562	1.2	13	636	2.0	11	440	2.5	32	1762	1.8

* Delinquent behavior includes serious, petty and truancy petition offenders only (excludes traffic offenders therefore).

TABLE V-2: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED FOR RACE, SEX AND ASCRIBED OCCUPATIONAL STATUS POSITIONS IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

	Occupational Status								Total	
	High		Middle		Low		No. Info.			
	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100
White Males										
J.C. Serious	18	0.9	103	2.4	76	2.9	4	1.0	201	2.2
J.C. Petty	42	2.2	129	3.0	94	3.6	13	3.1	278	3.0
J.C. Truant	1	0.1	14	0.3	29	1.1	5	1.2	49	0.5
J.C. Traffic	54	2.8	115	2.7	55	2.1	5	1.2	229	2.5
Not J.C.	1809	94.0	3897	91.5	2390	90.4	386	93.5	8482	91.8
Total	1924	100.0	4258	100.0	2644	100.0	413	100.0	9239	100.0
White Females										
J.C. Serious	--	0.0	2	0.0	5	0.2	--	0.0	7	0.1
J.C. Petty	2	0.1	24	0.6	23	0.9	2	1.4	51	0.6
J.C. Truant	4	0.2	21	0.5	12	0.5	--	0.0	37	0.4
J.C. Traffic	2	0.1	11	0.3	1	0.0	1	0.7	15	0.2
Not J.C.	1894	99.6	4296	98.7	2486	98.4	139	97.9	8815	98.8
Total	1902	100.0	4354	100.0	2527	100.0	142	100.0	8925	100.0
Negro Males										
J.C. Serious	--	0.0	7	1.5	15	1.8	--	0.0	22	1.4
J.C. Petty	2	1.7	22	4.7	33	3.9	--	0.0	57	3.7
J.C. Truant	--	0.0	1	0.2	8	0.9	--	0.0	9	0.6
J.C. Traffic	--	0.0	9	1.9	10	1.2	--	0.0	19	1.2
Not J.C.	119	98.3	433	91.7	789	92.3	100	98.0	1443	93.1
Total	121	100.0	472	100.0	855	100.0	102	100.0	1550	100.0
Negro Females										
J.C. Serious	--	0.0	--	0.0	1	0.1	--	0.0	1	0.1
J.C. Petty	--	0.0	3	0.6	12	1.1	--	0.0	15	0.8
J.C. Truant	1	0.8	2	0.4	12	1.1	--	0.0	15	0.8
J.C. Traffic	--	0.0	1	0.2	--	0.0	--	0.0	1	0.1
Not J.C.	119	99.2	533	98.8	1029	97.6	49	100.0	1730	98.2
Total	120	100.0	539	100.0	1054	100.0	49	100.0	1762	100.0

population base is small within the subgroup, subgroup comparisons are subject to greater sampling variability. Our rates are also subject to a second major source of error. Given the fact that we failed to secure "all" cases of delinquency the rates for subgroups with a small population base are particularly subject to unreliability in estimation. Subgroup comparisons for groups with a small population base should therefore be regarded with caution as complete counts for all our variables might alter our conclusions. For the most part, we can regard the conclusions about rate variation among race-sex subgroups as most reliable for the white boys and least reliable for the Negro girls.

There is considerable age variation in the rate of delinquency. Given this variation, one expects that the overall rate for the adolescent population is higher than the rate we obtain for the within school population, since population loss occurs for the most part in the age 16 and over age group. Table V-1 shows this age variation in rate of delinquency for white males in the within school population. Only 2.3 per cent of all boys age 10-13 were known to the court as delinquent while 8 per cent of all those age 16 and over were known as delinquent, regardless of ascribed social status. The relationship is even more striking if ascribed status is considered. The age relationship persists within each ascribed status group, but it varies from a low of 0.6 per cent of all high status boys age 10 to 13 to a high of 10.1 per cent of all low status boys age 16 and over. Since the school drop out rate is highest for the low status older boy subgroup and lowest in the younger boy high status subgroup, we can see that the inclusion of adolescents who have left school undoubtedly would increase both the rate and subgroup differences for the adolescent population as a whole.

For white girls and Negro boys and girls, the age group 10-13 has the lowest rate of delinquency, but for white girls and Negro boys the rate appears to be somewhat higher in the age 14 to 15 than in the 16 and over age group. Given the small numbers of cases in some age-ascribed status subgroups, the pattern of variation is of low statistical reliability, particularly for high status subgroups. In general, the pattern of age variation for the race-sex subgroups persists in the ascribed status subgroups.

For white males, age and ascribed status each has an independent effect on whether one is known to the juvenile court as a delinquent. If one views the court as a selective mechanism defining delinquency relative to the social structure, then one concludes that being young and of high ascribed social status is likely to bring the greatest "protection" from such an unfavorable definition. If one views these differences in terms of etiology, one concludes that age and ascribed social status are important structural features of delinquency.

Turning our attention to Table V-2, we can examine structural variation in the rate of delinquency for various categories of delinquency. Four types of delinquent offenses are presented in Table V-2. Serious offenses include assault with a weapon, armed robbery, grand larceny, including larceny of an auto, and burglary. Petty offenses include petit larceny, receiving and concealing stolen property, assault, malicious destruction of property, malicious mischief, and loitering, drinking, trespassing, curfew, and breach of peace violations, including disorderly conduct. All runaway and truancy cases for which a petition for a court hearing was entered are called the truancy offenses. Drag racing, speeding, reckless driving, and violation of registration and driver's license laws are called traffic offenses. Many delinquents of course are brought to court and charged with an offense in more than one of the four offense types. By way of illustration a delinquent boy may be charged with offenses of both petty larceny and truancy. An adolescent who was charged with an offense in more than one of the four types was classified within only one of these four types however for the analysis in Table V-2. The offender was placed in that offense type rated as the "more serious" one. The rank order of offenses in terms of "seriousness" is: serious, petty, truancy, and traffic. An adolescent was classified as a truancy offender for example, only if he was not also charged with some other "more serious" type of offense. The category of truant offenders therefore does not include all truant petition cases. It includes only those who were "not guilty" of a serious or petty offense.

Let us examine first the race-sex variation by type of offense. We shall begin by looking at variation in the serious and petty offenses. For serious and petty offenses combined, white and Negro boys have the same rate of about 5.2 per 100 enrolled. Similarly white and Negro girls both have a rate of somewhat less than one in a hundred. The rate for serious crimes only is higher for white than Negro boys; it is about one in a thousand for white and Negro girls. Correlatively, Negro boys have a higher rate of petty offenses than do white boys, with white and Negro girls having about the same rate. The rate of truancy only offenses is about the same for boys of both race groups, but white girls have a rate only about half that of Negro girls. Thus as Table V-1 shows, the combined serious-petty-truancy rate is about the same for white and Negro boys, but Negro girls have a somewhat higher rate than white girls.

Turning again to Table V-1 we can examine variation in delinquency rates for ascribed status and race-sex groups, by age. There is a fairly "strong" relationship between ascribed status position and rate of delinquency (serious, petty and truant petition) for the race-sex groups. The rate of delinquency in the high is less than half that in the low status subgroup in each of the race-sex subgroups. This relationship generally holds within each of the three age groups but it is particularly striking for white boys. The major exception to the general relationship is found for Negro boys where it seems likely that the rate of delinquency is higher in the middle status than in the low status subgroup for younger and older boys.

Examining ascribed status variation in rates of delinquency by type of delinquency in Table V-2, we find that the rate for serious offenders is higher in the low than in the high status group. This is most evident for white males where there are 201 cases of serious offenders. The same relationship between ascribed status and rate of delinquency holds for petty offenses except for Negro males where the rate is higher in the middle than in the high status subgroup. This relationship is of some value in understanding the fact that Negro males generally had a higher rate of petty offenders than do white males; most of this difference is due to the fact that middle status Negro males have a much higher rate of petty offenses than do middle status white males. Whether this means that middle status Negro males are more likely to be brought to juvenile court for petty offenses than are middle status white males we cannot say. But it should be kept in mind that white boys have a higher rate of serious offenses than do Negro boys. Many of the white boys charged with a serious offense are also charged with a petty offense. Thus, the important difference here may simply be that white boys are more often charged with a serious offense than are Negro boys. There is little difference in the rate of petty offenses for low status white and Negro boys.

While the number of cases is small for Negroes, the rate of truancy petition only cases probably is greater in all low than high status race-sex subgroups. The general pattern for serious, petty only and truancy only variation by ascribed social status is the same for all race-sex subgroups except that Negro middle status boys probably have a higher rate of petty thievery than do middle status white boys.

Traffic only violations present a somewhat different pattern of variation by ascribed social status. These are the boys and girls who never were brought to the juvenile court for any other delinquent offense. The tabulation therefore does not describe variation in traffic violations by ascribed social status, but ascribed status variation for an offense usually treated as a minor violation by the court and requiring only a brief appearance at the court before one of the probation officers. For this reason, it is not surprising that among white boys, traffic only offenses are higher in the high than in the low ascribed status group. Among Negro boys, there were no high status violators but the violation rate is higher for middle than low status boys, and the same pattern holds for white girls. There is only one case of a traffic only violator among Negro girls. These statistics may very well reflect only the fact that traffic only and not all traffic offenses are higher in high than in low status subgroups, particularly for white boys. There is some evidence from the literature though that traffic only offenses are more common among middle status than low status boys, particularly traffic offenses involving automobiles. A fair proportion of the traffic offenses among low status boys involve the use of motorcycles and motor bikes--a desired vehicle of transportation among low status urban boys. This type of traffic violation was almost entirely absent among middle status boys. Middle status boys are more likely to have access to and/or own a car than are low status boys. This may play some part in explaining their greater rate of traffic only violations. If this were the case then a partial association analysis where ownership of, or access to, an auto is controlled, should show that the rate of traffic only violations is no greater for one of the two status subgroups. We would simply be measuring their differential access to automobiles in this tabulation. Nonetheless, at least one other line of reasoning suggests itself. Often low status boys who are arrested for auto theft or some other theft (evidence for the theft is found in the automobile) also are guilty of a traffic offense, though they are not charged with the offense. For example, a boy may be stopped for traveling at a high speed but it is discovered that the auto is stolen; ergo, he is charged with theft of an auto. That is to say that low status boys are more often "guilty" of some more serious offense when they are picked up for some traffic violation and therefore they are more likely to be charged with curfew or other violations rather than traffic offenses.

There also is a surprisingly strong relationship between I.Q. and rate of delinquency independent of ascribed social status as Table V-3 shows. This particular tabulation fails to include information for a fairly large proportion of cases however, since I.Q. and ascribed status information was not available for 13.4 per cent of all cases. Inclusion of casesfor which information is lacking could change the character of the observed relationships despite the consistency of the observed pattern. Low I.Q. adolescents are more likely to be delinquent than are middle and high I.Q. adolescents, with high I.Q. adolescents having the lowest rate of delinquency. For white males one in every ten of the low I.Q. boys have a record of delinquency while only roughly 3 of every 100 high I.Q. boys have a record. There is one exception to this general relationship for race-sex subgroups, and that occurs for Negro boys. Among Negro boys, middle I.Q. boys are more likely to have a record of delinquency than are low or high I.Q. boys; low I.Q. Negro boys do have a higher

TABLE V-3: — RATE OF DELINQUENCY[1] PER 100 ENROLLED BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTEXTS

Race, Sex, Occupational Status	I.Q.											
	Low			Middle			High			Total[2]		
	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Delinq. Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Delinq. Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Delinq. Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Delinq. Rate Per 100
White Males	119	1206	9.9	184	3354	5.5	48	1787	2.7	528	9239	5.7
White Collar	19	280	6.8	41	1263	3.2	20	1115	1.8	113	3302	3.4
Blue Collar	100	926	10.8	143	2091	6.8	28	672	4.2	331	4661	7.1
Negro Males	41	589	7.0	29	324	9.0	2	49	4.1	88	1550	5.7
White Collar	7	91	7.7	8	74	10.8	1	19	5.3	17	227	7.5
Blue Collar	34	498	6.8	21	250	8.4	1	30	3.3	66	992	6.6
White Females	18	981	1.8	40	3661	1.1	9	2045	0.4	95	8925	1.1
White Collar	1	220	0.5	6	1255	0.5	4	1249	0.3	13	3238	0.4
Blue Collar	17	761	2.2	34	2406	1.4	5	796	0.6	70	4845	1.4
Negro Females	24	585	4.1	8	529	1.5	--	67	0.0	32	1762	1.8
White Collar	3	83	3.6	--	98	0.0	--	25	0.0	2	243	0.8
Blue Collar	21	502	4.2	8	431	1.9	--	42	0.0	26	1245	2.3

[1] Includes serious, petty and truancy petition offenses only.

[2] The difference between the total for race-sex subgroups and the total for the race-sex I.Q. subgroups is due to lack of information on I.Q. The difference between the total for race-sex ascribed status subgroups and the total for a race-sex subgroup is due to lack of information on ascribed status for this set of tabulations.

rate than high I.Q. Negro boys nevertheless. Yet here again we observe that Negro boys deviate from the general pattern for adolescents. We now have observed that middle status Negro boys, Negroes in the middle, age group and middle range I.Q. Negro boys have the highest rate of delinquency, and particularly of petty thievery, among Negro male subgroups. We note further that the I.Q. relationship holds within each ascribed status subgroup for each race-sex group. This means that for Negro boys, both high and low status middle I.Q. boys have the highest observed rate. It is relatively easy to speculate on why middle status Negro boys with middle range I.Q.'s are more likely to have delinquency records, particularly of petty thievery. It is suggested in the literature that middle status Negroes are most likely to experience cultural strains among all Negroes. The reason for this is that they are believed to be subject to two sets of strains, the strains of the "Black bourgeoisie"[11] and the strain of their caste-like relationship with white society. The latter might be more evident in a southern than in a northern U.S. city. If the cultural strains are greatest for this "middle group" than the rate of deviation would be predicted as highest for that group. Whether this is the case however we have no way of inferring from our data.

The extent to which I.Q. operates as a factor in the rate of delinquency independent of ascribed status can be gathered from inspection of Table V-3. Looking for example at the distribution for white males, we find that only 7 per cent of all low I.Q. white-collar males as compared with 11 per cent of all blue-collar ones are delinquent. Seen another way, there is a 3.5 per cent difference in ascribed status rates for white- and blue-collar subgroups and a 7.3 per cent spread in I.Q. (For three ascribed status groups, the range for white males is 4.8 per cent). The range therefore is greater for I.Q. than for ascribed status. But the range for ascribed status-I.Q. subgroups is from 10.9 for low I.Q. blue-collar boys to only 1.8 per cent of all high I.Q. white-collar boys, or a range in rates of 9.1 per cent. Still these results suggest that I.Q. is more important than ascribed status in explaining rates based on juvenile court records. Whether this means that low I.Q. boys are more susceptible to "being caught" or that they are more likely to commit acts of delinquency we cannot determine from these data.

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[11] See E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957

Table V-4 shows the variation in delinquency rates for serious, petty, truant and traffic types of delinquency in race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed status subgroups. Since the number of cases in any type of delinquency is small except for white boys, our analysis here is limited to the white male subgroup.

It can readily be seen that the variation in the rate of delinquency for I.Q.-ascribed status subgroups is the same for serious, petty and truant types of delinquency as it is for the combined delinquency cases. That is, none of these types of delinquency departs from the pattern for the combined cases of delinquency. The traffic only cases have the lowest rate in the low I.Q. group both for white- and blue-collar subgroups. And in both ascribed status subgroups, the middle I.Q. boy has the highest rate of traffic only offenses. Just why this should be the case it is difficult to say.

We also examined the variation in the rate of delinquency for I.Q. and ascribed status subgroups for two major age groups: 10 to 15 and 16 and over. We report only the rates of delinquency for white males below:

Age & Ascribed Status	I.Q.			
	Low	Middle	High	Total
Age 10-15				
White-Collar	5.6	2.4	1.1	2.5
Blue-Collar	10.0	6.0	2.9	6.2
Age 16 & Over				
White-Collar	10.8	6.8	5.0	6.8
Blue-Collar	12.1	9.8	11.5	10.2

Except for the 16 and over blue-collar subgroup, the rate of delinquency varies inversely with I.Q. The higher the rate of delinquency, the lower the I.Q. We should add that this same pattern holds for white and Negro girls in both age groups and for white- and blue-collar subgroups, but it fails to hold for Negro males (though the numbers of cases are quite small for some of the subgroups). For Negro males the general pattern prevailing in age-ascribed status subgroups is the general one that the highest rate occurs in the middle I.Q. subgroup. We can see however that in all cases I.Q. is a more important factor in the variation of delinquency rates than is ascribed status.

Sociologists have pointed out that delinquency becomes a patterned form of behavior in some sections of American cities and not in others. They have shown that typically the rates of delinquency are higher in the low status "slum" areas of the city where other rates of social deviation also are high and that they tend to be lowest in middle and upper status residential areas of the city. Some sociologists have noted however that the rate of delinquency is higher in some low status residential areas of the city than in others, granted that juvenile court statistics fail to include a substantial proportion of all delinquents in any area, and thereby render comparison difficult.

TABLE V-4: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SUBGROUPS

Race, Sex, Occupational Status	I.Q.							
	Low		Middle		High		Total*	
	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100
White Males								
White Collar	280		1263		1115		3302	
J.C. Serious	10	3.6	15	1.2	5	0.4	42	1.3
J.C. Petty	8	2.8	25	2.0	15	1.4	67	2.0
Subtotal	(18)	(6.4)	(40)	(3.2)	(20)	(1.8)	(109)	(3.3)
J.C. Truant	1	0.4	1	0.1	--	0.0	4	0.1
J.C. Traffic	4	1.4	44	3.5	31	2.8	93	2.8
Not Delinquent	257	(91.8)	1178	(93.2)	1064	(95.4)	3096	(93.8)
Blue Collar	926		2091		672		4661	
J.C. Serious	42	4.5	47	2.2	11	1.7	124	2.7
J.C. Petty	48	5.2	85	4.1	15	2.2	174	3.7
Subtotal	(90)	(9.7)	(132)	(6.3)	(26)	(3.9)	(298)	(6.4)
J.C. Truant	10	1.2	11	0.6	2	0.3	33	0.7
J.C. Traffic	--	--	53	2.5	7	1.0	81	1.7
Not Delinquent	826	(89.1)	1895	(90.6)	637	(94.8)	4249	(91.2)
Total	1206		3354		1787		7963	
J.C. Serious	52	4.3	62	1.9	16	0.9	166	2.1
J.C. Petty	56	4.7	110	3.3	30	1.7	241	3.0
Subtotal	(108)	(9.0)	(172)	(5.2)	(46)	(2.6)	(407)	(5.1)
J.C. Truant	11	0.9	12	0.4	2	0.1	37	0.5
J.C. Traffic	4	0.3	97	2.8	38	2.1	174	2.2
Not Delinquent	1083	(89.8)	3073	(91.6)	1701	(95.2)	7345	(92.2)

* Excludes cases for which I.Q. and occupational status information was not available for this tabulation.

TABLE V-4: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SUBGROUPS (continued)

Race, Sex, Occupational Status	I.Q.							
	Low		Middle		High		Total*	
	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100
Negro Males								
White Collar	91		74		19		227	
J.C. Serious	3	3.3	2	2.7	--		5	2.2
J.C. Petty	4	4.4	6	8.1	1	5.2	12	5.3
Subtotal	(7)	(7.7)	(8)	(10.8)	(1)	(5.2)	(17)	(7.5)
J.C. Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
J.C. Traffic	--	--	4	5.4	--	--	4	1.8
Not Delinquent	84	(92.3)	62	(83.8)	18	(94.8)	206	(90.7)
Blue Collar	498		250		30		992	
J.C. Serious	8	1.6	3	1.2	1	3.3	15	1.5
J.C. Petty	22	4.4	17	6.8	--		44	4.4
Subtotal	(30)	(6.0)	(20)	(8.0)	(1)	(3.3)	(59)	(5.9)
J.C. Truant	4	0.8	1	0.4	--		7	0.7
J.C. Traffic	9	1.8	3	1.2	1	3.3	16	1.6
Not Delinquent	455	(91.4)	226	(90.4)	28	(93.4)	910	(91.7)
Total	589		324		49		1219	
J.C. Serious	11	1.9	5	1.5	1	2.0	20	1.6
J.C. Petty	26	4.4	23	7.1	1	2.0	56	4.6
Subtotal	(37)	(6.3)	(28)	(8.6)	(2)	(4.0)	(76)	(6.2)
J.C. Truant	4	0.7	1	0.3	--		7	0.6
J.C. Traffic	9	1.5	7	2.2	1	2.0	20	1.6
Not Delinquent	539	(91.5)	288	(88.9)	46	(94.0)	1116	(91.6)

* Excludes cases for which I.Q. and occupational status information was not available for this tabulation.

TABLE V-4: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SUBGROUPS (continued)

Race, Sex, Occupational Status	I.Q.							
	Low		Middle		High		Total*	
	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100
White Females								
White Collar	220		1255		1249		3238	
J.C. Serious	--		1	0.1	--		1	0.1
J.C. Petty	1	0.5	1	0.1	3	(0.2)	5	0.2
Subtotal	(1)	(0.5)	(2)	(0.2)	(3)	(0.2)	(6)	(0.2)
J.C. Truant	--		4	0.3	1	0.1	7	0.2
J.C. Traffic	--		1	0.1	2	0.2	3	0.1
Not Delinquent	219	(99.5)	1248	(99.4)	1243	(99.5)	3222	(99.5)
Blue Collar	761		2406		796		4845	
J.C. Serious	1	0.1	2	0.1	1	0.1	5	0.1
J.C. Petty	8	1.1	17	0.7	4	0.5	34	0.7
Subtotal	(9)	(1.2)	(19)	(0.8)	(5)	(0.6)	(39)	(0.8)
J.C. Truant	8	1.1	15	0.6	--	0.0	31	0.6
J.C. Traffic	3	0.4	4	0.2	2	0.3	11	0.3
Not Delinquent	741	(97.3)	2368	(98.4)	789	(99.1)	4764	(98.3)
Total	981		3661		2045		8082	
J.C. Serious	1	0.1	3	0.1	1	0.1	6	0.1
J.C. Petty	9	0.9	18	0.5	7	0.3	39	0.5
Subtotal	(10)	(1.0)	(21)	(0.6)	(8)	(0.4)	(45)	(0.6)
J.C. Truant	8	0.8	19	0.5	1	0.0	38	0.5
J.C. Traffic	3	0.3	5	0.1	4	0.2	14	0.1
Not Delinquent	960	(97.9)	3616	(98.8)	2032	(99.4)	7986	(98.8)

* Excludes cases for which I.Q. and occupational status information was not available for this tabulation.

TABLE V-4: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SUBGROUPS (continued)

Race, Sex, Occupational Status	I.Q.							
	Low		Middle		High		Total*	
	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100	Number	Rate Per 100
Negro Females								
White Collar	81		97		25		243	
J.C. Serious	--	--	--	0.0	--	0.0	--	--
J.C. Petty	1	1.2	--	0.0	--	0.0	1	0.4
Subtotal	(1)	(1.2)	--	(0.0)	--	(0.0)	(1)	(0.4)
J.C. Truant	1	(1.2)	--	0.0	--	0.0	1	(0.4)
J.C. Traffic	--	--	--	0.0	--	0.0	--	--
Not Delinquent	79	(96.4)	97	100.0	25	100.0	241	(99.2)
Blue Collar	487		424		42		1138	
J.C. Serious	--	--	1	0.2	--	0.0	1	0.1
J.C. Petty	8	1.6	4	0.9	--	0.0	13	1.1
Subtotal	(8)	(1.6)	(5)	(1.1)	--	(0.0)	(14)	(1.2)
J.C. Truant	9	1.8	3	0.7	--	0.0	12	1.1
J.C. Traffic	1	0.2	--		--	0.0	1	0.1
Not Delinquent	469	(96.4)	416	(98.2)	42	(100.0)	1111	(97.6)
Total	568		521		67		1381	
J.C. Serious	--	--	1	0.2	--	0.0	1	0.1
J.C. Petty	9	1.6	4	0.8	--	0.0	14	1.0
Subtotal	(9)	(1.6)	(5)	(1.0)	--	0.0	(15)	(1.1)
J.C. Truant	10	1.8	3	0.6	--	0.0	13	0.9
J.C. Traffic	1	0.2	--		--	0.0	1	0.1
Not Delinquent	548	(96.4)	513	(98.4)	67	(100.0)	1352	(97.9)

* Excludes cases for which I.Q. and occupational status information was not available for this tabulation.

We sought to learn whether the status composition of the school (and thereby the residential area,except for one Crosscut/Center school) was related to the rate of delinquency over and above the ascribed status component. Taking the ascribed prestige status contexts of the schools we examined the variation in delinquency rates by prestige context. Before reporting these comparisons, the question naturally arises whether there was any school variation within each context, i.e., whether some schools of a given prestige context had a substantially higher or lower rate than others, apart from the age composition of schools. A detailed examination of the rates of white male delinquency for schools within each context shows that there is some school variation within contexts. This suggests of course that there are factors other than the status composition of the schools operating within each context. We shall briefly indicate these differences. The Upper and Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts are altogether homogeneous in respect to rates. None of the 11 junior high schools (seventh and eighth grades only) had a single case of reported delinquency. The rates for the senior high schools varied so that the rate for the Upper and Upper Middle context was somewhat below that for the Balanced Middle context. Within the Crosscut/Top context the rate for the boy's parochial school was below that for the other high schools. We know that this parochial high school often dismisses boys for delinquent misconduct; hence we would expect a lower rate for it. We also find that the rate for the lower middle status suburban school in this context is not as high as we would expect, given the rates for other schools in the context. This "suburban" community had a long history as a "satellite city," a factor in its organization which may affect its rate somewhat. In the Representative of All context the rate for a satellite city again is below that expected and the same is true for the

Crosscut/Bottom and Lower status contexts. In brief then there appears to be some variation due to the location of the school. In general among schools with the same prestige status structure, those located outside the core city have lower rates than those located within the core. There are a few exceptions to this statement however. These differences in rates of schools due to their location reflect to some extent differences in referral practices to the juvenile court. Suburban communities and satellite cities are more likely to handle their delinquency cases without referral to the county juvenile court. Among other things it means a fairly long trip to the detention and court facility. As Goldman has indicated in his studies however, suburban communities are more likely to have artificially lower rates of delinquency as defined by court statistics because of the way in which the cases are handled by all levels and agencies of the community. It seems apparent then that there is a selective bias operating in our data in respect to delinquency as defined by court statistics. In general, however, these differences do not appear to affect the expected pattern of variation though they may markedly affect the estimates of the amount of delinquency in any context.

Prestige context and ascribed status variation for white males only is presented in Table V-5. There are too few cases of delinquency for other race-sex subgroups to warrant this detailed analysis. We have already noted that delinquency varies with ascribed social status. There is a range of 4.6 per cent between high and low status subgroups, with the higher rate in the low status subgroup. In general delinquency rates vary inversely with the prestige of the context (except for the Crosscut/Center context where the vocational high school has a high rate of delinquency). The range for prestige contexts however is from 0.5 per cent for the Upper and Upper Middle context to a rate of 13.8 per cent for the Lower status context, a range of 13 per cent. The variation therefore is greater for prestige context (and thereby residential area) than it is for ascribed status. In general of course this variation in prestige context represents a range for high status suburban residential areas to low status slum central city areas.

When we examine status variation within context we find an interesting pattern of variation emerging. In the three lower status and the BWF and BF context, the rate of delinquency varies inversely with status but in three of the four top contexts the rate of delinquency varies directly with status (the pattern is unclear for the Crosscut/Top context). The effect of prestige context on ascribed status variation therefore is to change the relative probability or risk of being a delinquent for adolescents within ascribed status groups.

The investigation of context variation within status groups shows that there is an inverse relationship between the prestige of the context and the rate of delinquency. While there is a substantial variation in rates within each ascribed status subgroup, the range is not appreciably greater in any subgroup than it is for prestige contexts apart from status. The variation is substantial for the low status subgroup—from a rate of zero per 100 enrolled in school in the two top prestige contexts to a rate of 14.5 per 100 in the lowest prestige context. The same relationship generally prevails in the middle status group except that the Crosscut/Center context has a somewhat higher rate than its composition would suggest. The pattern of rate variation for the high status subgroup differs from that in the other subgroups. There are relatively low rates in the two top and the Representative of All contexts with high rates in the Crosscut/Center and Lower contexts. The unexpectedly high rate in the Crosscut/Center context can perhaps be explained on the selective recruitment of students to two of the schools in this context--the two schools with higher rates than would be expected from their overall status composition. One of these high rate schools has a very high dropout rate for the lower status students enrolled in that school; it selectively recruits these students from lower status junior high schools with even higher delinquency rates. The status composition of its residential area is generally below that of a Crosscut/Center context. Quite obviously there is a link between the high dropout rate and the high delinquency rate. For the school selectively recruits students from schools with very high delinquency rates (the highest junior high school rates in our county) and then due to the selectivity through dropout the school retains the less delinquent ones. Yet the overall rate continues high since delinquency is a part of the culture of large numbers of these students. From interviews with students in this school we have reason to believe that more of the higher status students than one would ordinarily expect, given their status, become involved in this delinquent culture. One arena of involvement for boys in this school is athletics. Boys of all status groups become involved in athletics; in this school athletic activity also encompasses an extensive delinquent subculture. Thus we would expect high status boys to show a higher rate of delinquency in this context than in others since particularly in this one large senior high school they become involved in a delinquent subculture. The other school in this context with a very high delinquency rate is the vocational and technical high school, such schools in general, tend to recruit (among others) boys who are in "difficulty" in their "own school."

The affect of context on the rate of delinquency is very great for both the low and the high status boy. The prestige of the context "virtually eliminates" the risk of being a delinquent of record in a juvenile court for

TABLE V-5: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SOCIAL STATUS CONTEXTS, FOR WHITE BOYS

School Prestige Status Context	Boys											
	Occupational Status											
	High			Middle			Low			Total*		
	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	Delinq.	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100
Upper & Upper Middle	2	289	0.7	--	105	0.0	--	7	0.0	2	[illegible]	0.5
Balanced Middle	10	384	2.6	6	293	2.0	--	32	0.0	16	725	2.2
Crosscut/Top	21	543	3.9	38	1018	3.7	16	360	4.4	79	2051	3.8
Crosscut/Center	7	111	6.3	26	435	6.0	12	207	5.8	45	770	5.8
Represent of All	3	156	1.9	23	436	5.3	20	290	6.9	49	938	5.2
Crosscut/Bottom	8	234	3.4	74	991	7.5	74	879	8.4	160	2176	7.3
Lower	3	50	6.0	56	414	13.5	48	330	14.5	112	812	13.8
RNF & RF	2	100	2.0	13	445	2.9	25	445	5.6	42	1027	4.1
Total	56	1867	3.0	236	4137	5.7	195	2550	7.6	505	8928	5.6

* The number of cases for which information on father's occupation could not be obtained is gotten by subtraction from the total column for each context.

low status boys in high status contexts. On the other hand it greatly increases the risk of a low status boy being classified a delinquent in the lowest prestige context. Put in another way, the average rate of delinquency for lower ascribed status boys in Table V-5 is 7.6. The rate of delinquency for low status boys in the two top prestige contexts is zero and that of low status boys in the lowest prestige context is twice as great (14.5). There is somewhat less prestige context effect on the delinquency risk of high status boys, though it is nevertheless a substantial one. The average rate of delinquency for high status boys in Table V-5 is 3.0. It is twice as great (6.0) for high status boys in the lowest prestige context but it does not reduce to zero for high status boys in high status contexts.

We have observed that delinquency rates vary with ascribed status, prestige context, and I.Q. positions for white boys. The risk of becoming a delinquent is greatest in low ascribed status, high I.Q., and low prestige context positions. We have also observed however that there is a greater risk of becoming a delinquent for a high than a low status boy in a high prestige context, and vice versa, showing that prestige context affects the risk for ascribed status subgroups. Similarly, we have noted that I.Q. explains more of the variation in white male delinquency rates than does ascribed status. In Table V-6 below we present information on variation in rates of delinquency for white boys who come from backgrounds differing in I.Q., ascribed status and prestige context. The number of cases in many subgroups is small so that it is difficult to determine the reliability of the observed relationships.

Two conclusions seem apparent after an examination of Table V-6. One is that for the three top prestige contexts the middle I.Q. group appears to have the highest rate of delinquency (although this does not hold for all ascribed status groups in the Crosscut/Top context) while in all other prestige contexts, the highest rate of delinquency is in the low I.Q. group and the lowest rate in the high I.Q. group (the pattern of variation for I.Q. and rate of delinquency found in each ascribed status subgroup apart from prestige context). The second apparent finding is that I.Q. appears to exert an effect independent of both ascribed status and prestige context. Certainly the addition of I.Q. in Table V-6 increases the range of variation for ascribed status groups within context over that in Table V-5. For example, in the Lower prestige context in Table V-5 we observed a range in the rate of delinquency from 6.0 for high to 14.5 for low ascribed status white boys. Table V-6 shows further that low and middle I.Q. lower status white boys probably have a greater risk of becoming a delinquent than do lower ascribed status high I.Q. boys in the Lower prestige context.

These data provide substantial evidence then in support of the assumption that delinquency is communicated as a form of behavior; it is learned by differential association. High status boys and girls who generally have a low probability of delinquency have a much greater probability of delinquency if they are in a context with a high rate than if they are in a context with a low rate of delinquency. And lower status boys who have the highest rate of delinquency on the average have the lowest rate of delinquent deviation of all ascribed status-prestige context subgroups when they are in contexts with low rates of delinquency.

Adolescent Evaluations of School Norms and Goals

"To get an education" is one of the major goals of American society. It is an ambiguous goal in that no precise amount of education is prescribed. The preferred amount of education in our society however is a graduate or

TABLE V-6: -- RATE OF DELINQUENCY PER 100 ENROLLED BY ASCRIBED STATUS, I.Q., AND STATUS CONTEXT: WHITE MALES ONLY[1]

	Low I.Q.				Middle I.Q.				High I.Q.			
	De-linq	Not De-linq	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	De-linq	Not De-linq	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100	De-linq	Not De-linq	Sub-Total	Rate Per 100
Upper and Upper Middle												
High Status	--	6	6	0.0	1	63	64	1.6	1	153	154	0.6
Middle Status	--	5	5	0.0	--	31	31	0.0	--	55	55	0.0
Low Status	--	--	--	--	--	3	3	0.0	--	3	3	0.0
Total	--	14	14	0.0	1	103	104	1.0	1	215	216	0.5
Balanced Middle												
High Status	--	13	13	0.0	3	115	118	2.5	4	204	208	1.9
Middle Status	--	24	24	0.0	2	133	135	1.5	1	107	108	0.9
Low Status	--	8	8	0.0	--	5	5	0.0	--	12	12	0.0
Total	--	48	48	0.0	5	259	264	1.9	5	325	330	1.5
Crosscut/Top												
High Status	2	35	37	5.4	6	193	199	3.0	9	188	197	4.6
Middle Status	4	93	97	4.1	21	435	456	4.6	6	247	253	2.4
Low Status	4	104	108	3.7	6	103	109	5.5	4	51	55	7.3
Total	10	243	253	4.0	36	765	801	4.3	19	498	517	3.7
Crosscut/Center												
High Status	1	11	12	8.3	4	49	53	7.5	--	22	22	0.0
Middle Status	6	61	67	9.0	13	182	195	6.7	2	68	70	2.9
Low Status	4	62	66	6.1	5	83	88	5.7	--	16	16	0.0
Total	11	136	147	7.5	22	319	341	6.5	2	106	108	1.9
Represent of All												
High Status	--	18	18	0.0	2	61	63	3.2	1	53	54	1.9
Middle Status	10	60	70	14.3	9	230	239	3.8	6	87	93	6.5
Low Status	11	77	88	12.5	6	100	106	5.7	--	50	50	0.0
Total	21	164	185	11.4	18	411	429	4.2	7	190	197	3.6
Crosscut/Bottom												
High Status	3	25	28	10.7	3	103	106	2.8	--	55	55	0.0
Middle Status	30	159	189	15.9	32	430	462	6.9	5	148	153	3.3
Low Status	39	318	357	10.9	21	244	265	7.9	5	90	95	5.3
Total	76	521	597	12.7	56	806	862	6.5	10	295	305	3.3
Lower												
High Status	--	12	12	0.0	2	20	22	9.1	--	9	9	0.0
Middle Status	23	104	127	18.1	20	182	202	9.9	2	24	26	7.7
Low Status	32	167	199	16.1	14	54	68	20.6	2	14	16	12.5
Total	60	293	353	17.0	36	257	293	12.3	4	47	51	7.8
RNF & RF												
High Status	--	11	11	0.0	1	37	38	2.6	--	32	32	0.0
Middle Status	2	59	61	3.3	5	187	192	2.6	2	90	92	2.2
Low Status	10	137	147	6.8	7	135	142	4.9	2	51	53	3.8
Total	14	213	227	5.2	13	370	383	3.4	4	173	177	2.3
Total												
High Status	6	131	137	4.4	22	641	663	3.3	15	716	731	2.1
Middle Status	75	565	640	11.7	102	1810	1912	5.3	24	826	850	2.8
Low Status	100	873	973	10.3	59	727	786	7.5	13	287	300	4.3
Total	192	1632	1824	10.5	187	3290	3477	5.4	52	1849	1901	2.7

[1] The number of cases for which information is not available for any subgroups can be gotten by subtraction from either Table V-3 or V-5.

professional school education. There is of course a contrasting goal in the society--that of the "self-made" man, the man who gets ahead through hard work and other skills acquired without the benefit of a formal education. Still this contrasting goal doesn't really negate the goal of "getting an education" since the "self-made" man seldom denies the value of education; rather he maintains he got ahead despite the advantages which it generally confers.

Our legal norms of course specify an age limit of compulsory school attendance to which we must conform in getting an education. Yet the emphasis in the elementary school is in attending junior high school and in completing high school, while in high schools, the "preferred" curriculum is the pre-college curriculum. The initial question we asked ourselves in relation to this norm is: how do adolescents perceive the cultural expectations with respect to educational achievement in our society? Specifically, how much education, in terms of years of schooling, do adolescents think each of them ought to get before leaving school. This indicator is a forced choice item: "Most people ought to: go to college; finish high school; go to high school until 16 years old; finish grade school; get some schooling; other (specify). It should be noted that this item is worded so as to try to make it independent of the adolescent's own norm and that of his membership or reference groups by generalizing it to "most people." Since for many respondents there is a discrepancy between how much they perceive most people ought to get and how much they perceive their mother expects them to get, for example, it seems reasonable to assume that at least some of our adolescents distinguished between the general norm and the norm held by others or themselves. From Table V-7 we can see that about 45 per cent of our adolescents saw the norm as getting some college education. If one excludes the 10 per cent of the

TABLE V-7: -- TRUANT AND DELINQUENT FORMS OF DEVIATING CONDUCT AND RACE, SEX, I.Q., AND ASCRIBED SOCIAL STATUS INDICATORS OF GROUP POSITION BY EVALUATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL NORMS AND GOALS

Educational Norms and Goals	Per Cent of Total Population	Deviating Conduct				Group Position								
						Race		Sex		I.Q.			Ascribed Status	
		% Truant	% Not Truant	% Delinq	% Not Delinq	% White	% Negro	% Male	% Female	% Low	% Middle	% High	% Blue Collars	% White Collars
Norm: Most people ought to:														
Go to college	45	35	46	42	46	44	52	52	41	40	46	59	42	57
Get less than college	55	65	54	58	54	56	48	48	59	60	54	441	58	43
Total (city only)	7902	332	7570	354	6548	4816	1754	3254	3316	1081	3455	2034	1869	4701
Value: Schooling most important:														
Agree	70	61	770	60	70	67	88	67	73	76	70	64	71	67
Disagree	30	39	30	40	30	33	12	33	27	24	30	36	29	33
Total (city and county)	18611	476	18135	637	17974	15946	2665	9103	9508	3424	7831	3960	7210	11401
Norm: Best way to get ahead:														
Work hard	44	43	44	47	44	45	27	46	43	40	45	44	44	45
Pleasing personality	30	23	30	19	30	30	31	20	39	27	30	32	29	31
Know right people	3	6	3	5	3	3	3	3	2	5	2	1	3	2
Save money	1	4	1	3	1	1	3	2	*	2	1	1	1	1
Get a college education	20	22	20	21	20	20	31	26	15	23	20	20	21	19
Have a special talent	2	2	2	5	2	2	5	3	1	3	2	2	2	2
Total (county only)	10381	144	10237	201	10180	9902	479	4908	5473	1270	4210	2755	5771	4610

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

adolescents who do not expect that most people should at least finish high school, we find that 49 per cent of them think that most people should finish high school and 51 per cent that most people should go to college. Despite the fact that a smaller percentage of all these boys and girls will finish high school, roughly 90 per cent of them perceive the norm as requiring either that most people finish high school or go to college. Negroes, males, white collars and high I.Q. adolescents are more likely to perceive the norm prescribing a college education than are their counterparts. The differences are particularly large between high and low I.Q. and white-collar and blue-collar adolescents as an examination of Table V-7 shows. From these zero order relationships we would predict that blue-collar, white girls with low I.Q.'s would be least likely to prescribe a college education and this is the case as Table V-8 shows. Only one of every four girls in this subgroup prescribe a norm that most people should get a college education. We also would predict from the zero order relationships that white-collar Negro boys with high I.Q.'s would be most likely to prescribe a norm of college education for most people. We fail to confirm this prediction since we find in examining the data in Table V-8 that about the same proportion of white-collar white, as Negro, boys with high I.Q.'s prescribe a college education and perhaps even somewhat more of the white-collar Negro girls than boys with high I.Q.'s prescribe a college education. For these three subgroups in fact, about three of every four adolescents prescribe a norm of college education.

Within our population then we find that there is considerable subgroup variation in the percentage of adolescents who prescribe a college education for most people or correlatively, most people should get less than a college education. If we interpret the responses of an aggregate to this item so that fewer than 50 per cent checking a response indicates a subgroup norm prescribing less than a college education for most people, and vice versa, then we can interpret the distributions for subgroups in Table V-8 in the following way: Among boys, if one is within the low I.Q. range, regardless of ascribed status, or if one is of blue-collar origin and middle I.Q. range the subgroup norm is "most people don't need a college education." Take note however in Table V-8 that in every subgroup for boys, at least 40 per cent prescribe a college education for "most people." This means that the majority view in these subgroups is at best a "slim majority." Among girls, if one is white, unless one is a high I.Q. white-collar girl, one is in a subgroup where fewer than one-half see the norm as prescribing a college education for most people. By way of sharp contrast, among Negro girls, unless one is a low I.Q. Negro girl, one is in a subgroup where at least a simple majority see the norm as prescribing a college education for most people.

The range among subgroups in the proportion prescribing a "college education for most people" is about fifty per cent with only one in four of the white-collar white girls with low I.Q.'s thinking that most people should go to college and about three of every four high I.Q. adolescents (except white girls) prescribing a college education for most people. Comparing these normative requirements with the 1950 data on years of school completed, we find that for persons aged 25 to 29 years old, white women had the highest median years of school completed, 11.3, though they were closely followed by white males with 11.2; Negro males and females in this age group had a median years of school completed of 10.1.[12] Actual educational attainment then is well below the prescribed attainment, for all race-sex subgroups. Since Nashville city is specialized in higher education, and many of its high school graduates

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[12] 1950 U.S. Census of Population, Vol. II, Table 65.

TABLE V-8A: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS HOLDING THE NORM: "MOST PEOPLE OUGHT TO GET LESS THAN A COLLEGE EDUCATION," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	50	16	36	25	0	6
Non-Delinquent	60	101	35	387	26	261
Total	59	121	36	442	25	279
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	69	78	55	87	85	13
Non-Delinquent	63	407	53	801	49	183
Total	64	506	54	981	51	201
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	33	6	50	4	0	1
Non-Delinquent	49	68	23	53	27	15
Total	47	74	25	59	25	16
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	50	28	42	19	100	1
Non-Delinquent	48	368	48	188	32	22
Total	48	404	48	208	35	23

TABLE V-8A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS HOLDING THE NORM: "MOST PEOPLE OUGHT TO GET LESS THAN A COLLEGE EDUCATION," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	25	4	100	2
Non-Delinquent	61	76	60	379	41	247
Total	62	79	60	386	41	251
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	69	16	76	21	100	2
Non-Delinquent	74	374	67	968	55	252
Total	74	392	68	992	55	256
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	67	3	—	—	—	—
Non-Delinquent	48	60	43	85	17	24
Total	49	63	43	85	17	24
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	63	16	60	5	—	—
Non-Delinquent	55	378	48	356	34	41
Total	56	395	48	362	34	41

ABLE V-88: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS HOLDING THE NORM: "MOST PEOPLE OUGHT TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL", WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	67	3	40	10	0	1
Not Truant	59	118	36	433	25	279
Total	59	121	36	443	25	280
	Blue Collar					
Truant	71	65	71	61	86	7
Not Truant	64	441	53	860	49	193
Total	64	506	54	921	51	200
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	0	3	50	2	--	--
Not Truant	50	72	25	57	25	16
Total	50	75	25	57	25	16
	Blue Collar					
Truant	50	18	--	--	0	1
Not Truant	48	386	47	203	36	22
Total	48	404	47	203	36	23

ABLE V-28: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS HOLDING THE NORM: "MOST PEOPLE OUGHT TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL", WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	0	1	70	10	67	3
Not Truant	62	76	59	373	43	236
Total	62	77	60	383	43	239
	Blue Collar					
Truant	83	29	64	39	100	6
Not Truant	74	363	68	935	55	251
Total	75	392	68	974	56	257
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	100	1	33	3	—	—
Not Truant	48	62	43	82	20	24
Total	49	63	42	85	20	24
	Blue Collar					
Truant	46	11	60	5	100	1
Not Truant	56	384	48	357	33	40
Total	56	395	48	362	34	41

who are in college are enumerated elsewhere, Census statistics give a biased estimate of college enrollment for the "resident population." Nonetheless, it appears safe to say that at the time our study was undertaken the proportion of adolescents who actually will be able to implement the normative view that most people should go to college will be very close to our lowest subgroup estimate of one in four. Looking at subgroup variation in prescription of how much education most people in our society should get, we find that perception of the norm varies considerably with one's position in race, sex, and socio-economic status groups, and perhaps even one's perception of being a "bright" student.

An interesting relationship is apparent between subgroup position and prescription of level of education for most of the population. In general, the greater the probability that one will attend college, the more likely one is to prescribe this as the norm for "most people" in the population. Considering aggregates, boys, white-collars and high I.Q. adolescents are most likely to attend college, particularly if combinations of these characterise their subgroup position. The higher rate of prescription by Negroes of a college education for most people can be seen in two ways. It is a reference group norm for more Negroes than whites since education is a major path to social mobility for Negroes in American Society. Or, high I.Q. white-collar Negro boys and girls undoubtedly have the highest probability of college enrollment of all our subgroups. One hesitates to induct this finding to a more general one but it does suggest that for norms, a person is quite likely to prescribe as the norm the behavior characterizing the life chances of the groups in which one is a member. It might seem as strange to some that those who most likely to go to college and to succeed in college are most likely to prescribe this as a goal for most people while conversely those who are least likely to go to college and to succeed if they did go,are least likely to prescribe college attendance as the norm for most people. Yet this deduction follows from the general statement about norms.

There is only a very small difference between our juvenile court deviators and conformers in their prescription of how much education most people in our society should get. Given the large size of our population this small difference of 5 per cent (in which delinquents have somewhat lower expectations for the population as a whole) is statistically significant. This relationship holds in all but two of the eleven race, sex, I.Q. subgroups but tends to disappear when socioeconomic status is controlled as well. The relationship therefore is not independent of the social status of the delinquents and nondelinquents.

There is a somewhat larger difference between the truants and conformers in the proportion prescribing a college education for most people Only 35 per cent of the truants as compared with 46 per cent of the nontruants prescribe a college education for most people. This relationship does not hold for Negro subgroups, since Negro truants are about as likely as nontruants to require a college education for most people. For whites, the relationship is independent of the sex but not the I.Q. and ascribed status of adolescents.

Generally the differences in the proportion of the population of truant and delinquent deviators and of the population of conformers prescribing a college education for most people are either small or disappear when the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed status position of the adolescent is taken into account in Table V-8. For this reason we conclude that delinquent and truant deviators and conformers are really quite similar in their perception of the general norm of how much education most people in our society should get--at least similar in their perception to other adolescents of their race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed social status. Furthermore, there is considerably more variation for race-sex-I.Q.-ascribed status subgroups (24 subgroups in our comparisons) than there is for the conforming-deviating subgroup comparisons. We would also conclude that for our adolescent population there is no question but that for all subgroups the norm is: "most people should at least finish high school."

The adolescents in our population prescribe at least a high school education for "most" people in the society. There is not too much difference between truant and delinquent deviators and conformers in the proportion prescribing that most people should get at least a high school diploma. But, how about the importance which each adolescent places on the value of getting an education. Are deviators as likely as conformers to place a high value on going to school and getting an education?

We sought first to learn whether there are differences among deviating and conforming adolescents in the importance they attach to the values of going to school and getting an education. These values are summarized in the colloquial expression "schooling." Each adolescent was asked to check agreement with the statement: "Schooling is the most important thing in life for me." This statement requires a specific evaluation of the primacy of this goal relative to all other goals, but it does not force the subject to choose among these goals in a forced choice answer situation. While response to the item measures both content and intensity position, Tables V-9A and 9B present information for only the agree-disagree dimension of content. Although 70 per cent of all adolescents (see Table V-7) agreed with this statement, there is considerable variation in intensity of response to the item: 19 per cent strongly agreed with it; 26 per cent agreed with it and 25 per cent agreed a little with it. Negroes agreed with this item by about 21 per cent more than did whites and they perhaps are more likely to be firmly "attached" to their attitude. If we look only at the strongly

TABLE V-9A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WHO AGREE THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE FOR ME," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLS

Delinquency	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
Classification	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	32	19	49	41	50	20
Non-Delinquent	66	256	65	1208	61	1088
Total	63	275	65	1249	61	1108
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	62	100	59	143	61	28
Non-Delinquent	65	816	64	1931	65	640
Total	64	916	64	2074	65	668
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	86	7	38	8	100	1
Non-Delinquent	92	83	72	63	83	18
Total	91	90	72	71	84	19
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	77	34	76	21	100	1
Non-Delinquent	87	459	88	226	86	28
Total	86	493	87	247	86	29

TABLE V-9A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WHO AGREE THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE FOR ME," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	0	1	100	6	25	4
Non-Delinquent	76	219	70	1240	63	1241
Total	76	220	70	1246	63	1245
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	47	17	44	34	40	5
Non-Delinquent	75	738	73	2364	66	789
Total	74	755	72	2398	65	794
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	67	3	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	89	60	94	96	84	25
Total	88	63	94	96	84	25
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	[illegible]	21	100	[illegible]	--	--
Non-Delinquent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE V-9B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE TO ME," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	40	5	60	15	100	2
Not Truant	64	270	65	1235	61	1105
Total	63	275	65	1250	61	1107
			Blue Collar			
Truant	51	77	53	90	67	12
Not Truant	65	865	64	1984	65	655
Total	64	942	64	2074	65	667
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	67	3	100	1	--	--
Not Truant	91	88	78	64	84	19
Total	90	91	79	65	84	19
			Blue Collar			
Truant	55	26	78	29	100	11
Not Truant	87	1227	87	2188	85	277
Total	86	1253	87	2217	85	288

TABLE V-9B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING THAT "SCHOOLING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN LIFE TO ME," WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	1	71	14	50	6
Not Truant	76	219	70	1233	63	1239
Total	76	220	70	1247	63	1245
			Blue Collar			
Truant	61	38	58	55	75	8
Not Truant	75	718	73	2343	65	786
Total	75	756	72	2398	65	794
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	0	1	100	3	--	--
Not Truant	89	82	94	93	84	25
Total	88	83	94	96	84	25
			Blue Collar			
Truant	[illegible]	[illegible]	100	[illegible]	100	[illegible]
Not Truant	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

agree and agree responses to the item (disregarding the agree-a-little category) we find that 69 per cent of all Negroes as compared with only 41 per cent of all whites express agreement with the statement. Negroes are also more likely to "strongly agree" with the item. Examination of Table V-7 also shows that among their goals girls, low I.Q. subjects and blue-collars are more likely to give a high and exclusive value position to schooling. The differences are most substantial between I.Q. subgroups. Examination of subgroup differences for the strongly agree and disagree responses combined only, we find somewhat greater differences among I.Q. and ascribed status subgroups than we do when we use all agree responses for description in Table V-7. Thus, 48 per cent of all blue-collars compared with 40 per cent of all white-collars and 55 per cent of all low, 45 per cent of all middle and 37 per cent of all high I.Q. adolescents strongly agree or agree that "schooling is the most important thing in life for them." It is apparent that white-collars and high I.Q. subjects are more likely to "agree-a-little" with the statement.

From these zero order relationships between the exclusive value placed on schooling among alternate goals and the group position of the adolescent, we would predict that low I.Q., blue-collar Negro girls should be the most likely to place an exclusive value on schooling. They do rank very high in Table 9 for 92 per cent of the 489 girls in this subgroup agree with the statement. But this subgroup does not differ significantly from any of the Negro girl subgroups, nor for that matter is their subgroup per cent significantly different from that for most subgroups of Negro boys. For this reason, it appears that race group position is the more important element determining attitude toward schooling.

Correlatively, we would predict from the zero order relationships that high I.Q., white-collar, white boys would be least likely to place an exclusive value on schooling, and they do occupy the lowest rank position, though the subgroup percentage is not significantly different from that of other subgroups of white males or that of high I.Q. white females. There are substantial subgroup differences in intensity as well if we compare the subgroup per cents of "strongly agree" with the statement. While 48 per cent of the low I.Q., blue-collar, Negro girls strongly agree with the statement, only 10 per cent of the high I.Q., white-collar, white boys strongly agree with it. And only eight per cent of the former compared with 39 per cent of the latter disagree with the statement. Disregarding for the moment the fact that our rank position of subgroups might not be a statistically reliable rank order, we would conclude that high I.Q., white-collar, white boys are most likely either to agree just a little or to disagree with the statement that schooling is the most important thing in life for them, while low I.Q., blue-collar, Negro girls are at the opposite end of the rank order. It is an anomaly of our society that the adolescent subgroup which is most likely to go to college (and perhaps to complete college and enter graduate or professional school training) places the lowest exclusive value on schooling. On the other hand the group which probably is least likely to go to college, and perhaps to complete it, places the highest value on it. Lest one regard this finding as altogether trivial since it explores the value of schooling as most important among alternate values, one might recall some of the cultural responses to the educational orientation of members of these groups. By way of illustration, many college teachers complain that the white-collar youth, often a "bright" student, is poorly motivated, content to be a Gentleman's C student, or only interested in the degree and not the content of what he learns. Girls are considered as more highly motivated students, better workers, and so on. Members of minority groups who are "bright" are considered among "the best" students. And many college teachers lament:

"It's a shame he (or she) doesn't have more to work with since he really tries so hard" or, "I can't fail him because he just hasn't had the background." Some college teachers in fact openly express a preference for the rural and small town, the working status and the minority group member in preference to the metropolitan, upper and middle status, dominant group member who is seen as less highly motivated toward the goals of the classroom and of education.

Turning to the relationship of the exclusive value placed on schooling with deviant behavior, we find a small but statistically significant difference between deviators and conformers in the value placed on schooling. Delinquents and truants place somewhat less emphasis on the exclusive value of schooling than do conformers. The relationship holds for both race groups, for race-sex subgroups and for race-sex-I.Q. subgroups. The relationship is clearly not independent of ascribed social status however since it disappears for all but the white male subgroup in Table V-9. The restriction of the relationship to this subgroup is nevertheless of some importance if we consider the fact that white male delinquents in our society have a greater propensity to reject the school as a controlling organization than do other subgroups of adolescents. It is interesting to observe then that the delinquent boy of white-collar origin is less likely than the conformer of comparable origin to agree that schooling is the most important thing in life for him than is the white delinquent of blue-collar origin to differ from the blue-collar conformer.

We have just examined differences among subgroups in their acceptance of the value position that schooling is the most important thing in life for them. This statement left open the question of what alternate goals, if any, the subject considered in determining his agreement with the statement. Were all other goals of less importance? Education is a means to goals as well as a goal in American society. One might readily argue that for most people in

American society, education is a means to other ends rather than a goal in itself. Hence education is important because it gets one to "success" goals rather than because it makes one an "educated man capable of dealing in a more rational way with his environment." We sought therefore to learn whether education was considered important as compared with other means in reaching a dominant success goal in American Society. The major success goal of social mobility--of getting ahead was chosen as the goal for which education might be considered an alternate means. It is a major part of our ideology that one is a failure if he does less well than his father and the average man of the previous generation, one is a questionable success if one does only as well as they, and one is a success only if one does better. We stated the striving for the success goal as: "The best way to get ahead in life is to: work hard; have a pleasant personality and be likeable; know the right people; save your money; get a college education; be a person with a special talent such as a good athlete, actor or singer."

We sought to determine the response to these means to the success goal to get ahead in a different way for the city as compared with the county school population. For the city population, we had the subjects respond separately to each item, expressing their agreement or disagreement with it as "the best way to get ahead." Obviously as one proceeded with the questionnaire the subject had the "contamination" of previous stimuli on "the best way to get ahead." For the county population we forced the respondents to select only one of these choices as "the best way." In our judgement, the form used for the city population tells us something about the relative acceptance of each means toward the end, so far as the general population of adolescents is concerned. Thus a ranking of the proportionate endorsement of the population tells us something about how acceptable they consider these as means to ends. For the county population we get more of a description of "the best" way, since we force them to choose among the alternative means.

Let us first examine the response of our city population to the separate items. Below we can see that the rank order for boys and girls is to place "pleasing personality" in the first rank followed closely by "work hard" and then "get a college education." In fact we might say that these are all considered "best ways" in the sense that 90 per cent or more of the boys and girls agree that these means are "the best way to get ahead in life." In fourth rank position is "save your money," followed by "know the right people" and in the lowest rank position "have a special talent like...." The older "virtue" of saving one's money, the oft repeated instrumental means of "getting to know the right people" and the "special ability" means are clearly less often thought of as the more important ways to get ahead in life, though they may outweigh the factors of hard work and pleasing personality as mobility means in our society. On the whole there is very little sex difference in the endorsement of means to ends except for "saving money" and "have a special talent." It is particularly large for the category of "having a special talent" with almost a third more of the boys than the girls agreeing that this is a "best way" to get ahead. We believe this sex differ stems from the fact that one of the three special talents mentioned is that of an athlete. From other research investigations we know that athletic competition is one of the principal activities toward which adolescent boys in our society are oriented.

Means	Per Cent		Rank	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Work Hard	95.4	96.4	2	2
Pleasing Personality	96.7	96.7	1	1
Know Right People	64.7	61.6	5	5
Save Money	74.6	68.6	4	4
Get a College Education	92.4	94.3	3	3
Have a Special Talent	60.3	43.8	6	6

It is not surprising therefore that they should more often see such a special "ability" as a means to an end.

When we present the county population with the forced choice situation we find in Table V-7, that the rank order of "work hard," and "have a pleasing personality" is reversed. The Protestant virtue of hard work is considered a more important means to an end than the hedonistic one of the pleasing personality. A college education is a poor third with only 20 per cent of the population accepting it as the best way to get ahead. Only six per cent of the population of adolescents see "knowing the right people" (3 per cent), having a "special talent" (2 per cent), and "saving money" (1 per cent) as the best means to get ahead. We note a very marked sex difference in the forced choice situation however. Girls are much more likely than boys to see a pleasing personality as a means to getting ahead. This value choice is consistent with the ideology that the principle means to success that girls have in the dating situation is that of a pleasant personality. In the competitive struggle with girls for the attention of boys, our ideology holds that the girl with a pleasing personality is the one who succeeds in "getting her man." Boys are more likely than girls to value all other means to getting ahead, but most particularly that of getting a college education. This is consistent with the idea that boys see a college education more as a means to a job while girls see it only partly as a means to a job since marriage is an alternate career for them.

There are important white-Negro differences in the forced choice situation with proportionately more of the Negroes valuing a college education, having a special talent and saving money as means to get ahead. The relatively greater emphasis on getting a college education as a means to the end of getting ahead is equal in emphasis (31 per cent) to that of having a pleasing personality (31 per cent) while for whites "working hard" is the dominant (45 per cent) means to getting ahead. It is not surprising that Negroes are more likely than whites to value special talent as a means to getting ahead since the entertainment situs always has been an important arena for minority groups to get ahead in American Society. Boxing, singing, and similar skills are ways to become "stars" in the entertainment world.

The surprising fact however is the small amount of variation one finds by ascribed status position and I.Q. in the selection of these goals as means to ends. There is almost no variation by ascribed status position and only a very small amount for I.Q. position. What little variation there is by I.Q. is difficult to interpret. High I.Q. are more likely than low I.Q. adolescents to value a pleasing personality and middle and high I.Q. are more likely than low I.Q. adolescents to value working hard as means to getting ahead. In general, low I.Q. adolescents are perhaps more likely to value all other means, though the differences are very small. Looked at another way, it is surprising that there is no variation in the rank order of means by ascribed social status and I.Q. since there is a fair amount of variation by race and sex position. In fact, high I.Q. boys and girls give about the same relative "weight" to working hard, having a pleasing personality and getting a college education as do the total population. The same is true for white-collars. These values about getting ahead apparently are so entrenched in our adolescent culture that ascribed status and I.Q. make no difference in the choice of them as means to the end of getting ahead. Or one might add, in the relative perception of them (a reality assessment) as means to ends.

From these zero order relationships, we conclude that only race-sex differences are of any consequence since the I.Q. and ascribed status differences are small. If we examine the second order race-sex relationships in Table V-10 we find substantial differences in the acceptance of means to the goal of getting

TABLE V-10A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	33	--	--	--	33	33	3
Non-Delinquent	47	19	5	4	22	3	151
Total	47	19	5	4	22	3	154
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	43	14	14	5	19	5	21
Non-Delinquent	44	16	8	2	26	4	404
Total	44	16	9	2	26	4	425
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	100	--	--	--	--	1
Non-Delinquent	27	27	--	--	46	--	11
Total	25	33	--	--	42	--	12
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	--	67	--	33	--	--	3
Non-Delinquent	41	21	3	3	23	10	73
Total	40	22	3	4	22	9	76

TABLE V-10A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	35	41	4	--	19	2	139
Total	35	41	4	--	19	2	139
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	50	50	--	--	--	--	2
Non-Delinquent	41	36	5	1	16	4	355
Total	41	36	5	1	16	1	357
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	29	41	--	--	29	--	17
Total	29	41	--	--	29	--	17
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	17	33	17	--	33	--	6
Non-Delinquent	23	33	2	2	37	2	84
Total	22	33	3	2	37	2	90

TABLE V-10A: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Middle I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get a College Education	Have a Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	[illegible]	17	[illegible]	—	22	—	[illegible]
Non-Delinquent	[illegible]	21	[illegible]	11	35	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	21	[illegible]	11	35	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	16	25	7	7	26	1	53
Non-Delinquent	17	20	7	8	26	1	1058
Total	16	20	7	8	26	1	1111
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	20	20	--	--	20	40	5
Total	20	20	--	--	20	40	5
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	—	100	—	—	—	—	1
Non-Delinquent	35	28	—	6	28	13	32
Total	34	30	—	6	27	12	33

TABLE V-10A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Middle I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get a College Education	Have a Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	3
Non-Delinquent	32	41	2	10	14	1	83
Total	32	41	2	10	14	1	86
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	42	25	8	17	—	—	12
Non-Delinquent	44	37	2	0	15	1	153
Total	44	37	2	0	15	1	165
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Non-Delinquent	14	57	—	—	29	—	7
Total	14	57	—	—	29	—	7
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	50	—	—	—	50	—	2
Non-Delinquent	29	38	2	—	31	—	59
Total	30	38	2	—	31	—	61

TABLE V-10A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	High I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get a College Education	Have a Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	--	[illegible]
Non-Delinquent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	[illegible]	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Non-Delinquent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	100	--	--	--	--	--	1
Total	100	--	--	--	--	--	1
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	20	40	--	--	40	--	5
Total	20	40	--	--	40	--	5

TABLE V-10A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	High I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	43	43	1	0	13	1	980
Total	43	43	1	0	13	1	980
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	75	25	--	--	--	--	4
Non-Delinquent	45	38	1	0	16	1	520
Total	45	37	1	0	16	1	524
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Blue Collar						
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE V-10B : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	50	0	0	0	50	0	2
Not Truant	47	19	5	4	22	3	152
Total	47	19	5	4	22	3	154
	Blue Collar						
Truant	47	13	20	0	13	7	15
Not Truant	44	16	8	2	26	4	410
Total	44	16	9	2	25	4	425
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	25	33	0	0	42	0	12
Total	25	33	0	0	42	0	12
	Blue Collar						
Truant	50	25	0	13	13	0	8
Not Truant	38	22	3	3	24	10	68
Total	40	22	3	4	22	9	76

TABLE V-10B : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	35	41	4	0	19	2	139
Total	35	41	4	0	19	2	139
	Blue Collar						
Truant	38	25	13	0	25	0	8
Not Truant	41	36	4	1	16	1	349
Total	41	36	5	1	16	1	357
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	29	41	0	0	29	0	17
Total	29	41	0	0	29	0	17
	Blue Collar						
Truant	25	50	0	0	25	0	4
Not Truant	22	33	4	2	37	2	86
Total	22	33	3	2	37	2	90

ABLE V-10B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	60	0	0	0	40	0	5
Not Truant	48	21	2	1	25	3	777
Total	48	21	2	1	25	3	782
	Blue Collar						
Truant	48	26	0	4	22	0	23
Not Truant	47	20	2	2	26	3	1088
Total	47	20	2	2	26	3	1111
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	20	20	0	0	20	40	5
Total	20	20	0	0	20	40	5
	Blue Collar						
Truant	50	0	0	0	50	0	2
Not Truant	23	32	0	7	26	13	31
Total	24	30	0	6	27	12	33

TABLE V-10B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	33	33	0	0	33	0	3
Not Truant	42	41	2	0	14	1	843
Total	42	41	2	0	14	1	846
	Blue Collar						
Truant	40	27	0	7	27	0	15
Not Truant	44	37	2	0	15	1	1350
Total	44	37	2	0	15	1	1365
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	14	57	0	0	29	0	7
Total	14	57	0	0	29	0	7
	Blue Collar						
Truant	33	33	0	0	33	0	3
Not Truant	29	38	2	0	31	0	58
Total	30	38	2	0	31	0	61

TABLE V-10B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	47	22	1	1	27	2	797
Total	47	22	1	1	27	2	797
	Blue Collar						
Truant	20	60	0	0	20	0	5
Not Truant	45	18	3	1	30	3	443
Total	45	18	3	1	30	3	448
	Negro Males						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Blue Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	20	40	0	0	40	0	5
Total	20	40	0	0	40	0	5

ABLE V-10B : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS AGREEING WITH SELECTED GOALS ABOUT "THE BEST WAY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE" WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.						
	The best way to get ahead in life is to:						
	Work Hard	Have Pleasant Personality	Know Right People	Save Your Money	Get A College Education	Have A Special Talent	Total
	White Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	50	50	0	0	0	0	2
Not Truant	43	43	1	0	13	1	978
Total	43	43	1	0	13	1	980
	Blue Collar						
Truant	100	--	--	--	--	--	3
Not Truant	45	38	1	0	16	1	521
Total	45	37	1	0	16	1	524
	Negro Females						
	White Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Blue Collar						
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ahead. The acceptance of hard work as the best means occurs for 47 per cent of all white boys, 43 per cent of all white girls, 28 per cent of all Negro boys and 26 per cent of all Negro girls. The substantial race as compared with sex difference is not surprising since the race difference is much greater than the sex difference. There is very little race difference in choosing a "pleasing personality" as the best means to get ahead, but there is a very substantial sex difference apparent in the race-sex subgroup comparisons. White girls (39 per cent) and Negro girls (35 per cent) place high emphasis on this means while Negro boys (25 per cent) and white boys (19 per cent) value it well below that of girls. Here the sex difference is more important than the race difference since the sex difference holds within race groups.

Proportionately more Negroes than boys place a high value on education as the best means to get ahead. We observe that 29 per cent of all Negro boys, 33 per cent of all Negro girls, 26 per cent of all white boys and only 14 per cent of all white girls value education as a means to end. Race is obviously more important than sex in determining the value placed on education as the best means [illegible] getting ahead since among Negroes, girls outrank boys, and by race, Negroes outrank whites. There is little race-sex variation for "know the right people." But for "save money," Negroes are more likely than whites to emphasize saving money while for having a special talent boys are more likely than girls to emphasize this means. Yet Negro boys (8.8 per cent) are more likely than white boys (3.1 per cent) to emphasize the importance of having a special talent like athletics, being an athlete or a singer. And only 1.5 per cent of Negro girls and 1.0 per cent of white girls emphasize this value as a best means to an end, suggesting that the minority male is most likely to see this as an important means to getting ahead in the society.

It is a truism that deviators are more likely than conformers to use illegitimate means to reach legitimate goals. This kind of behavior in fact defines some types of deviators in our society. Little is known however about whether behavioral deviators are more likely than conformers to favor certain legitimate means to legitimate goals. Examining Table V-7, we see that truant and delinquent deviators are about as likely as conformers to see hard work and getting a college education as the means to getting ahead. And, both deviators and conformers see hard work as the principal best means to getting ahead. But while conformers place more emphasis on having a pleasing personality than on getting a college education, truant and delinquent deviators place about equal emphasis on these as legitimate means to getting ahead. The relatively marked dememphasis deviators place on personality as a factor in getting ahead as compared with conformers is surprising. The difference between conformers and deviators in relative emphasis on this "best" means is almost entirely accounted for by the relatively greater emphasis which deviators place on the means which the population is least likely to consider "best" in the forced choice situation--knowing the right people, saving money and having a special talent. About twice as many deviators as conformers emphasize "knowing the right people" as a means of getting ahead. In the world of rackets, the rigged election, the payoffs to the police, etc., "knowing the right people" undoubtedly is a means to getting ahead; just how "legitimate" its use in these instances might be evaluated is not known.

The zero order relationships between delinquent and truant deviators and conformers with the relative acceptance of legitimate means to the goal of getting ahead in American society do not hold when they are examined within race, race-sex, race-sex-I.Q. and race-sex-I.Q.-ascribed status subgroups in Table V-10. By race group, the observed relationships hold for whites but not

Negroes. Since the number of county Negro delinquents is small however, it is difficult to know whether the relatively greater emphasis they place on having a pleasing personality, knowing the right people and saving money is a true difference since we have relatively low confidence in the reliability of it. For race and sex subgroup comparisons, there is a general attenuation of differences which is accentuated at the third and fourth order partial levels in Table V-10 so that the original relationship appears as spurious. When differences in race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed status between deviators and conformers are taken into account there are consequently no real differences in their relative acceptance of the legitimate means as best to the end of getting ahead in American Society.

Looking back at the normative evaluations of adolescents and especially those of deviating and conforming adolescents, we can attempt certain comparisons and conclusions.

Comparing the adolescent's perception of how much education most people ought to get with the exclusive value placed on schooling and the choice of education as a best means to getting ahead, some differences emerge. These can be summarized briefly:

1. Negroes require a somewhat higher level of educational attainment for the general population, place a substantially greater value on schooling and are more likely to see education as the best means to getting ahead than are whites.

2. Girls are more likely than boys to place greater emphasis on the exclusive value of schooling even though boys require that the general population should on the average attain more years of completed schooling and they more often choose a college education as a best means to get ahead.

3. Blue collars value schooling more than do white collars even though

white collars perceive that most people ought to go farther in school. There are no differences in the relative weighting of education as a best means to the end of getting ahead.

4. Low I.Q. boys and girls feel that schooling is the most important thing in life to them more often than do high I.Q. boys and girls, but they are less likely to see a college education as the goal for most people in our society; there are practically no I.Q. differences in the selection of education as a best means to the success goal of getting ahead.

How should we account for these findings, remembering that one can value schooling at any aspiration or attainment level? We reason somewhat as follows:

1. Negroes should place relatively greater emphasis on education than do whites, particularly since it is their major avenue to social mobility in American Society. It should particularly be valued by southern urban Negroes, as are our subjects. Furthermore, the advent of school desegregation appears increasingly to present schooling as the major "equality" institution for Negroes; the value of education therefore should, if anything, be enhanced. The relative strength of this value in our southern urban Negro community can be seen from the fact that low I.Q., Negro girls are among those most given to high evaluation of education, both in terms of going to school and as a best means for achieving success in getting ahead. The subgroup least likely to have the opportunities and background for higher education places an extremely high valuation on it.

2. It is generally thought that girls in our society are more scholarly in school than are boys, that teachers consider girls more highly motivated toward academic performance than boys, that adolescent boys are less likely to identify with women teachers than are girls, and that girls emphasize

values related to competitive dating and scholastic attainment while boys emphasize values related to achievement in athletic competition. These factors hardly account for their relatively greater emphasis on educational values however. They simply affirm the difference observed. The relatively greater emphasis which boys place on the average education which most people ought to get and their relatively greater emphasis on getting a college education as the best means to getting ahead undoubtedly stem from the fact that they are more oriented toward getting a job and making a living than are girls in our society. And a college education is a major avenue to what are called "good jobs" in our society. Correlatively, the greater emphasis which girls place on having a pleasing personality as a best means of getting ahead appears to be a function of a fact that in our culture, particularly in middle status culture, personality is considered an asset both in terms of acquiring a mate in competition with other girls and in "aiding" a husband in his mobility aspirations.

3. The surprise to us is that blue-collar and low I.Q. adolescents are more likely to consider schooling as the most important thing in life to them than are white-collar and high I.Q. adolescents. They also are about as likely to see getting a college education as a best means to getting ahead in the society. Thus, if anything they are as likely if not more likely to see the importance of schooling and an education as valuable in the society. On the other hand, blue-collar and low I.Q. adolescents are less likely to endorse the norm that most people ought to get a college education. It is difficult to provide an accurate interpretation to this pattern of relationships; we did not anticipate the findings. We suspect that middle and particularly upper status children in our society are very likely to take a college education for granted. They have "always known" that they will go to college.

This is not the case for the lower status child. Lower status children have learned that they must strive to get an education and, even then, it is difficult of attainment. An education cannot be taken for granted. They must put first things first, and an education is a prerequisite. To that end, they place considerable value on schooling. Yet they are ever mindful of the limited opportunities for them. Because of that they do not see the necessity for most people to get a college education and they do not overemphasize the importance of a college education in getting ahead. Other means must be used in getting ahead. Still if this is so, one wonders why in our choice situation there are no status differences in the relative emphasis placed on means to getting ahead.

4. Exactly why low I.Q. boys and girls should find schooling the most important thing in life for them is less easy to explain. Since the relationship was unexpected, we sought an ex post facto explanation. But there are a number of such explanations and it is difficult to choose among them. I.Q. of course is status related, but only some and not all of the relationship is explained on this basis in our study. I.Q. appears to exert an important and independent influence on valuing schooling as the most important thing in life. It appears to us from our observations of school climates and neighborhood settings that the low I.Q. boy and girl face sharp status inequality both in and out of school. This is particularly the case for the "slow learner" or the child in a special education classroom. It is only too apparent as well in the institution for delinquent boys and girls; low I.Q. boys and girls generally are exploited in the institutional setting and giving a relatively low social status among their peers. Given this status inequality among peers and perhaps as well at home and in the neighborhood, the school strangely enough may be the more democratic of the inequality situations in which the low I.Q. adolescent participates. Low I.Q. adolescents perhaps are, after all, given

more attention--even if in a special education classroom--in the school then they are accorded elsewhere. Their rewards from understanding, if not always sympathetic, teachers may be more frequent than they are elsewhere. If this is the case, and we are not certain that it is, it may account for some of the greater value they place on schooling. At least in the school they are often protected from the strains of competition by segregation policies based on "learning ability" or achievement. It seems reasonable to postulate however that the somewhat greater emphasis which low I.Q. adolescents place on schooling stems from the relative deprivation they receive in the environment. They see that schooling is important because others are rewarded for valuing it. They can value it even if they cannot complete effectively with the brighter student. Still we are inclined to look for an explanation of the relationship in the nonacademic reward system of the school. Somehow the social environment of the school may be more indulgent for low I. Q. children then is usually assumed.

Turning to the relationship of deviating-conforming behavior with evaluations of schooling, we are inclined to conclude that the major differences in value emphasis observed between deviators and conformers is a function of the social composition of the deviating as compared with the conforming population. The differences between truant and delinquent deviators and conformers in the evaluations they place on schooling tend to disappear when the race, sex, I.Q. and social status composition of the populations are controlled. Thus it is largely due to the fact that delinquents are more likely to be white male lower status boys of low and middle I.Q. range which accounts for the differences in educational evaluations which we observe.

Educational and Vocational Achievement Goals

The social system controls individuals through the processes of socialization and of social control. The expectations which others hold for us have an influence on our behavior either because we internalize these expectations and make them our own or because in other ways we try to bring the expectations of others and ourselves into a defined relationship. Whether through internalization of the expectations or through taking account of them in our behavior we nevertheless act to some extent from their influence. We unfortunately do not have a measure of the educational attainment expectation of others for our adolescents which is independent of the subject's perception of that expectation. The measure of the educational attainment expectation of others used here is that of the adolescent report of mother's expectation, though we recognize it is subject to perceptual distortion. We asked our subjects to tell us: "What grade in school or year in collegehave your parents always wanted you to finish before you quit going to school? Mother:________; Father:________." Since the correlation between mother and father's perceived expectations was extremely high and a measure of the discrepancy between expectations of father and mother yielded too few cases for detailed analysis, only mother's expectations is used as a measure here. This measure is used in preference to that for father because fewer subjects failed to report an expectation for mother, either because of a failure to communicate the expectation or because they "never knew a father."

It is doubtful that all parents formulate specific educational goals for each of their children or that they effectively communicate these goals to them. It also is doubtful whether children are equally reliable receptors of this kind of communication or whether in the interaction between parents and child both modify their perception of the others expectations even though no fundamental change may have taken place in them. But parents and children are in social settings where the emphasis on educational values varies somewhat as we have observed and where there is even greater variation in the opportunities available for getting an education. This being the case, we would expect that parents of the same social position would on the average have the same expectations for their children. We therefore would predict that these expectations would vary by the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent and his family.

The opportunities for getting a college education are more restricted for Negroes than whites, although this is less true for our Negro population than for Negroes in general since both the state Negro university and Fisk University, a private educational institution, are located in Nashville and educate large numbers of Negroes from our population of adolescents. Furthermore, parents in different social positions are not equally subject to pressures to hold expectations for their child's education nor are they equally ablsto evaluate the opportunities for their child's education. For these reasons we would expect that our adolescent perceptions of their parents as holding an expectation for them would vary with the ascribed socioeconomic status position of the subject. Given the greater restrictions on opportunities for Negroes and the greater instability in family structure we would expect that Negro adolescents would be less likely to report they knew their mother's expectations than would white subjects. And that is in fact the case. Almost one-third of all Negro boys and girls as contrasted with about 15 per cent of all whites reported they did not know their mother's educational expectations for them. This relationship appears to hold independent of the sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status of the subjects. We likewise would expect that parents of high I.Q. adolescents would be subject to greater pressures to hold high expectations for the child's education while parents of low I.Q. subjects would be under greater pressure to withhold judgement as to "how far the child is able to go." This is also the case; while 30 per cent of all low I.Q.

adolescents do not know their mother's specific educational goals for them, this is true for only eight per cent of all high I.Q. subjects. Boys are less likely than girls and blue-collar less likely than white-collar subjects to know their mother's educational expectations for them, but these differences are smaller than those for race and I.Q. position. Parents in our culture of course are under greater pressure to educate their sons than their daughters and middle status parents are under greater pressure to send all of their children to college or to have them finish high school than are low status parents. For these reasons, parents in these social positions are more likely to have formulated specific educational goals for their children and for their children to be more aware of them. Interestingly enough truants and delinquents are only slightly less likely than conformers to know their mother's expectations for their educational attainment. The discussion which follows about the relation of perception of mother's educational aspirations for their child's educational attainment is based only on those cases where the adolescent reported a specific year of schooling that mother wanted them to complete.

Almost one-half (48 per cent) of all our adolescents perceive their mother as holding college attendance as a goal for them. One would hardly expect that these expectations could be fulfilled, given the number of opportunities available for higher education in the United States. This expectation was perceived as greater by whites (49 per cent) than Negroes (42 per cent), boys (53 per cent) than girls (44 per cent), white-collar (70 per cent) than blue-collar (35 per cent) and high I.Q. (73 per cent) than low I.Q. (24 per cent) subjects. See Table V-11. One can see that there is a 50 per cent range for I.Q. and a 35 per cent range for ascribed socio-economic status. Given the substantial differences for all of our indicators

TABLE V-[illegible] -- TRUANT AND DELINQUENT FORMS OF DEVIATING CONDUCT AND RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND ASCRIBED SOCIAL STATUS INDICATORS OF GROUP POSITION BY EVALUATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT GOALS

Educational and Vocational Achievement Goals	Per Cent of Total Population 1/	Deviating Conduct				Group Position								
						Race		Sex		I.Q.			Ascribed Status	
		% Truant	% Not Truant	% Delinq	% - Not Delinq	% White	% Negro	% Male	% Female	% Low	% Middle	% High	% Blue Collars	% White Collars
Ed. Aspiration of Mother:														
Go to college	48	16	48	24	49	49	42	53	44	24	45	73	35	70
Less than college	52	84	52	76	51	51	58	47	56	76	55	27	65	30
Total	15553	380	15173	569	14984	13680	1873	7248	8305	2428	6627	3663	9545	6008
Subject's Ed. Aspiration:														
Go to college	68	28	69	42	67	68	62	74	62	44	61	82	53	81
Less than college	32	72	31	58	33	32	38	26	38	56	39	18	47	19
Total (county only)	10702	155	10457	177	10525	10282	420	5273	5429	1210	3680	2755	5584	4118
Occup. Aspiration of Mother:														
Prof.&Semi-prof.	59	37	64	49	60	64	50	59	—	39	65	78	53	68
Mgr., Prop.& Off.	3	2	3	4	3	3	1	3	—	2	3	3	2	4
Sales, Cler.& Kind.	16	16	16	19	15	16	16	16	--	22	17	11	15	16
Craft., Op. & Lab.	22	45	17	28	22	17	33	22	--	14	7	6	30	12
Total (county Males only)	3423	56	3367	100	3323	3276	147	3423	--	23	8	2	1896	1527

1/ Total population is for all city and county adolescents unless reported for county only. Differences in totals for subgroups of the population are due to differences in lack of information on the item.

TABLE V-11: -- TRUANT AND DELINQUENT FORMS OF DEVIATING CONDUCT AND RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND ASCRIBED SOCIAL STATUS INDICATORS OF GROUP POSITION BY EVALUATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT GOALS (continued)

Educational and Vocational Achievement Goals	Per Cent of Total Population 1/	Deviating Conduct				Group Position								
						Race		Sex		I.Q.			Ascribed Status	
		% Truant	% Not Truant	% Delinq	% Not Delinq	% White	% Negro	% Male	% Female	% Low	% Middle	% High	% Blue Collars	% White Collars
Occup. Aspir. of Subject:														
Prof.&Semi-prof.	55	24	56	40	56	57	40	55	--	32	55	73	46	67
Mgr., Prop. & Off.	3	1	3	4	3	3	3	3	--	3	4	3	2	5
Sales, Cler. & Kind.	13	13	12	16	13	12	12	13	--	15	13	10	11	14
Craft., Op.& Lab.	29	62	28	40	28	28	35	29	--	50	28	14	41	14
Total (county males only)	4453	76	4377	131	4322	4263	190	4453	--	608	1732	1175	2436	2017
Quit School Scale:														
Want to Quit Most	34	61	33	57	33	34	30	42	26	40	34	25	36	29
Want to Quit Least	66	39	67	43	67	66	70	58	74	60	66	75	64	71
Total	17562	445	17107	607	16955	15079	2461	8457	9083	3152	7602	3860	10907	6633
Quit School as Forced to Go:														
Want Most to Quit	9	28	8	23	8	9	7	11	6	12	8	4	10	5
Want Least to Quit	91	72	92	77	92	91	93	89	94	88	92	96	90	95
Total	18097	469	17628	635	17462	15592	2505	8815	9282	3326	7817	3948	11303	6794
Quit School & Go To Work:														
Agree	18	48	17	42	17	18	17	22	14	29	17	8	22	11
Disagree	82	52	83	58	83	82	83	78	86	71	83	92	78	89
Total	18097	469	17628	635	17462	15592	2505	8815	9782	3326	7817	3948	11303	6794

1/ Total population is for all city and county adolescents unless reported for county only. Differences in totals for subgroups of the population are due to differences in lack of information on the item.

of group position, we would predict from these relationships that most white-collar white boys with high I.Q.'s would perceive their mothers' expectations to be that of a college education. And this is the case in Table V-12, for 89 per cent of these boys say their mothers want them to go to college. The only subgroups where adolescents perceive their mothers' expectations any where near as high are the white-collar, high I.Q. white girls where 80 per cent perceive their mothers as wanting them to go to college. On the other hand we are led to predict that blue-collar, low I.Q. Negro girls will perceive their mothers as holding the lowest educational expectations of any subgroup. This is not the case. Race is more important than sex in accounting for the relationship. The perceptions of blue-collar, low I.Q. white girls are the lowest as only 13 per cent of these girls see their mothers as wanting them to go to college. It is apparent that mothers of white low I.Q. adolescents in the lower socioeconomic stratum of American society are less likely to be thought of as holding high educational attainment goals for their children than are mothers of Negro low I.Q. adolescents in the lower social stratum.

There is the possibility of course that the white and Negro I.Q. scores are not comparable even for boys and girls in the same social stratum since there is some evidence that I.Q. tests are "less favorable" to Negroes than whites. Disregarding this interpretation as accounting for all of the observed difference between these two subgroups of boys and girls, it seems reasonable to assume that the importance of schooling to the Negro family makes their members more likely than those of the white family to project "unrealistic educational goals" on the low I.Q. child. On the other hand, high I.Q. Negro boys and girls regardless of ascribed socioeconomic status are less likely to perceive their mothers as holding high educational aspirations for them than are comparable subgroups of white boys and girls. Perhaps the mothers of high I.Q. Negro children are more likely to see the difficulties in educating their

TABLE V-12A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	88	17	49	33	21	19
Non-Delinquent	60	168	29	957	11	963
Total	62	189	30	1028	11	1000
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	89	130	84	122	52	25
Non-Delinquent	80	554	59	1509	36	565
Total	83	720	61	1677	37	597
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	5	50	4	100	1
Non-Delinquent	60	57	44	43	27	15
Total	63	62	43	49	31	16
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	72	18	64	14	100	1
Non-Delinquent	66	253	61	165	46	24
Total	67	280	61	180	50	26

TABLE V-12A: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	80	5	75	4
Non-Delinquent	67	167	44	1103	20	1180
Total	67	168	44	1109	20	1186
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	100	16	83	30	50	6
Non-Delinquent	86	593	70	2116	49	767
Total	67	612	70	2150	50	775
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	2	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	53	51	26	82	28	25
Total	55	53	26	82	28	25
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	64	14	63	8	--	--
Non-Delinquent	70	330	52	343	45	38
Total	70	344	53	352	45	38

TABLE V-12B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	100	3	73	11	50	2
Not Truant	62	186	35	665	11	1009
Total	62	189	36	676	11	1011
	Blue Collar					
Truant	98	55	90	77	60	10
Not Truant	80	599	60	1601	37	587
Totall	83	654	61	1678	37	597
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	75	12	50	2	--	--
Not Truant	66	58	43	47	31	16
Total	67	70	43	49	31	16
	Blue Collar					
Truant	75	8	33	6	100	1
Not Truant	66	262	62	175	53	34
Total	67	270	61	181	54	35

TABLE V-12B: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	1	73	11	40	5
Not Truant	67	167	44	1095	20	1180
Total	67	168	44	1106	20	1185
			Blue Collar			
Truant	91	34	89	56	88	8
Not Truant	86	577	70	2098	52	732
Total	86	611	70	2154	52	740
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	50	2	--	--
Not Truant	54	52	25	80	24	25
Total	54	52	26	82	24	25
			Blue Collar			
Truant	71	7	71	7	100	2
Not Truant	69	337	52	346	43	37
Total	69	344	52	353	46	39

children.

Deviating behavior in the form of either truancy or delinquency bears a substantial relationship to the adolescent's perception of mothers' educational aspirations. While roughly one-half of all conforming boys see their mothers as expecting them to go to college, only 16 per cent of all truants and 24 per cent of all delinquents see their mothers as holding such high expectations of educational attainment for them. This relationship is independent of race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status as we learn from examination of Tables V-12A and 12B. Clearly the mothers of our deviators, and more so for truant than delinquent deviators, are generally less often regarded as holding college expectations for their sons attainment than are the mothers of conformers. Whether this means that the mothers have reduced their expectations, altered the goals for their sons, or whether their sons are less likely to correctly perceive their mother's expectations is an interesting question for further investigation.

We inquired about subject's educational aspirations. Unfortunately from the standpoint of comparison, we have information on subjects' aspirations only for the county population. The aggregation of county schools had a higher proportion of white-collar and white subjects than does the total population. We cannot assume therefore that the county population norms are those for the entire population. A comparison of Table V-15 with Table V-12 will show the extent to which the county population data on mother's aspirations differ from those for the total population. In general, the comparison shows that county subjects are more likely to perceive their mothers as holding college expectations for them. Given the fact that our data for the county population are a biased estimate for the total population, our mother-subject comparisons will be made for the county population only.

Adolescents more often report specific educational attainment goals for themselves than they perceive their mothers as holding attainment expectations for them. Twenty per cent of our county subjects did not report an educational attainment expectation for their mother but only a little over four per cent of them failed to report a specific educational goal for themselves. There are family factors operating then which result in more adolescents on the average knowing how far they want to go in school than in knowing the specific attainment expectations held by parents. It of course is quite possible that many parents do not have specific educational goals for their children; for that reason the child does not respond to expectationsof a definite goal.

Although twenty per cent of all adolescents did not report mother's educational attainment expectation, there is considerable variation in perception of this expectation by the group position of adolescents. Proportionately more of the boys (25 per cent) than of the girls (15 per cent), of Negroes (41 per cent) than of white (19 per cent), of blue collars (28 per cent) than of white collars (15 per cent) and of low I.Q. (42 per cent) than of middle I.Q. (20 per cent) and high I.Q. (9 per cent) did not report a specific educational goal for their mother. It is interesting to note that in our subgroup comparisons in Table V-13 in each case the subgroup difference is about twice as great in one of the subgroups. For some subgroups, e.g., low I.Q. white- and blue-collar white and Negro boys, well over 40 per cent of the boys did not report a specific educational expectation for their mother. By way of contrast, both for white- and blue-collar high I.Q. white boys, only roughly 10 per cent failed to report an educational attainment expectation for their mother. Socioeconomic status differences then all but disappear when I.Q. is controlled.

These findings suggest that the major reason a boy or girl does not know

TABLE V-13: -- PER CENT OF SUBJECTS REPORTING NO SPECIFIC EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT GOAL FOR SELF AND FOR MOTHER HOLDING FOR SUBJECT, BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND ASCRIBED SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (COUNTY POPULATION ONLY COMPARISONS)

Race, Sex, I.Q. and SES	Per Cent No Specific Goal		Race, Sex, I.Q. and SES	Per Cent No Specific Goal	
	Mother	Self		Mother	Self
White Boys	(24.1)	(5.8)	**Negro Boys**	(48.3)	(8.0)
White Collar	18.4	4.5	**White Collar**	56.0	12.5
Low I.Q.	45.5	7.0	Low I.Q.	69.2	8.3
Middle I.Q.	22.1	5.7	Middle I.Q.	20.0	0.0
High I.Q.	10.4	3.0	High I.Q.	0.0	0.0
Blue Collar	28.0	7.3	**Blue Collar**	47.2	7.3
Low I.Q.	45.9	10.9	Low I.Q.	46.8	5.3
Middle I.Q.	26.8	5.6	Middle I.Q.	35.3	3.0
High I.Q.	12.2	3.2	High I.Q.	22.2	0.0
White Girls	(14.3)	(2.6)	**Negro Girls**	(35.5)	(8.1)
White Collar	11.8	2.3	**White Collar**	40.0	11.4
Low I.Q.	29.1	3.5	Low I.Q.	47.1	11.8
Middle I.Q.	14.8	2.5	Middle I.Q.	14.3	14.2
High I.Q.	5.8	1.7	High I.Q.	--	--
Blue Collar	16.5	2.7	**Blue Collar**	34.8	7.6
Low I.Q.	28.4	5.0	Low I.Q.	29.0	9.2
Middle I.Q.	15.6	2.4	Middle I.Q.	19.4	5.0
High I.Q.	9.3	2.1	High I.Q.	--	--

how far mother wants them to go in school before they quit is largely a function of their position in a range of I.Q.'s. It appears that mothers of low I.Q. children, regardless of their socioeconomic position find it difficult to know (or at least to communicate) how far their child should go before quitting school. This probably is due to the fact that it is difficult for them to know how far the child is able to go. For this reason their educational attainment expectations are indefinite. Their attitude toward educational attainment for the child may well be one of ambivalence to the matter: they know how far they would like to see the child go before leaving school but they have serious doubts whether he is able to go that far; hence they can't arrive at any definite goal to communicate to the child. He will go as far as he can go. This seems a reasonable explanation for the phenomenon we observe since the relationship holds equally for white-collar and blue-collar mothers of low I.Q. white boys and girls. We assume at least that white-collar mothers have general cultural expectations for educational attainment for their children--expectations which they are forced to change when the child has a relatively low I.Q. Low I.Q. children therefore are much more likely to have arrived at a self-expectation of how far they want to go in school without knowing their mother's expectation for them.

Similarly, an adolescent who does not have a specific educational attainment goal by our measures is more likely to be found in some positions in the social structure than in others. White girls were more likely than white boys to have a specific educational attainment goal as less than three per cent of the girls as compared with about six per cent of the boys failed to report a specific year of school they wished to complete before leaving school. But among Negroes about eight per cent of the boys and of the girls failed to report a specific goal, so that there is no sex difference. There is of course a race difference since proportionately more of the white than of the Negro adolescents had a specific attainment goal. Furthermore, proportionately more of the blue collars (5.1 per cent) than of the white collars (3.4 per cent) and of the low I.Q. (7.9 per cent) than of the Middle (3.9 per cent) and the high I.Q. (2.4 per cent) failed to report a year of schooling they wanted to attain. The range in failure to report a specific goal for white adolescents is from 10.9 for low I.Q., blue-collar boys to only 1.7 per cent of all high I.Q., white-collar girls. The subgroup percentages for Negroes are too unreliable to attempt comparison. Thus we find that among whites the lower one's I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status and being a boy rather than a girl, makes it less likely that one will have a specific educational objective in terms of years of schooling toward which one moves. Low I.Q. children therefore are in a better position to "choose" their education goals than are high I.Q. ones, for high I.Q. boys and girls, regardless of status, at least know a specific education goal that mother holds for them.

Given the fact that our county population gives a biased estimate of the parameters for subject's educational attainment aspiration, we shall not rely upon absolute comparison in either Table V-11 or Table V-14A and B. If we compare below the per cent of the county population with "less than a college expectation," we find that there is a slight tendency for mothers' to hold somewhat lower expectations than children aspirations, but the differences are small. They are most apparent for race, suggesting that Negro mothers are somewhat more likely than white mothers to hold lower aspirations for their children than are the children themselves, and they are lower for boys than girls suggesting that mothers are more likely to hold lower expectations for their sons than their daughters aspirations. A similar phenomenon is observed for low as compared with high I.Q. and blue-collar as compared with white-collar subject-mother educational aspiration-attainment comparisons. Taken together these data suggest that there is a greater discrepancy between self aspiration of educational attainment and mother's expectation of attainment for Negroes, boys, low I.Q. and blue-collar subjects than for whites, girls, high I.Q. and white-collar subjects.

Per Cent High School or Less	% Truant	% Not Truant	% Delinq.	% Not Delinq.	Race	
					% White	% Negro
Subject	72	31	58	33	32	38
Mother	73	36	68	34	36	46

Per Cent High School or Less	Sex		I.Q.			Ascribed Status	
	% Male	% Female	% Low	% Middle	% High	% Blue Collar	% White Collar
Subject	26	38	56	39	18	47	19
Mother	31	40	61	42	19	50	19

There are smaller race and sex differences than I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status differences for subject's educational aspirations in Table V-11. Whites are more likely than Negroes, boys than girls, low I.Q. than high I.Q. and white collars than blue collars to want to go to college. The relationship then is the same for subject's educational aspirations as it is for their perception of mother's expectations of educational attainment and group position of the subject. From these zero order relationships we would predict that white boys with high I.Q.'s and of white-collar ascribed status would be most likely to aspire to a college education. This is not altogether true, although as we observe in Table V-14, 19 per cent of boys in this subgroup do aspire to a college education. While the number of Negro cases is small, all six high I.Q. Negro boys wanted to go to college. For whites, a combination of high I.Q. and white-collar status appears to lead to the highest aspirations while among Negroes, I.Q. alone may be more controlling of aspiration.

Correlatively we would expect that white, blue-collar, low I.Q. girls would rank lowest in aspiration level and this is the case in Table V-14, although these girls do not differ greatly from the comparable subgroup of white boys.

There is very little difference in the proportion of county subjects aspiring to less than a college education and the proportion of subjects who perceive their mothers' expectations for them as less than a college education, as somewhat less than three-fourths of truants perceive themselves and their mothers as aspiring to less than a college education. Somewhat more of the delinquents perceive their mothers than selves as expecting to attain less than a college education so that mother of delinquents may have somewhat lower expectations for their children than do the children themselves.

Truants and juvenile delinquents are about twice as likely as conformers to have no definite educational aspiration to report; eight per cent of the deviators versus four per cent of the conformers did not report a definite number of years of schooling they wished to complete before leaving school. Considering only those cases where adolescents report a definite educational goal, let us see whether deviators differ from conformers in the educational level to which they aspire. Truants and delinquents are much less likely to aspire to a college education than are conformers. The difference between truants and conformers is considerably greater than that between delinquents and conformers however. The range is 41 per cent for the truant-conformer comparison and only 25 per cent for the delinquent-conformer

TABLE V-14A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS REPORTING THEY WANT TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	67	3	36	14	30	10
Non-Delinquent	39	142	18	738	8	772
Total	39	145	18	764	9	800
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	94	17	57	54	77	13
Non-Delinquent	61	362	41	1041	26	435
Total	62	383	42	1110	27	450
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	36	11	20	5	0	1
Total	42	12	20	5	--	1
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	50	2	0	1	--	--
Non-Delinquent	48	71	19	32	0	5
Total	47	74	18	33	--	5

TABLE V-14A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS REPORTING THEY WANT TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	--	--	100	3	100	2
Non-Delinquent	51	136	25	836	12	978
Total	51	136	25	840	12	982
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	80	10	50	4
Non-Delinquent	67	337	51	1347	34	514
Total	67	341	52	1358	35	518
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	13	15	17	6	--	--
Total	13	15	17	6	--	--
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	60	5	50	2	--	--
Non-Delinquent	28	79	27	57	--	--
Total	30	84	27	59	--	--

TABLE V-14B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS REPORTING THEY WANT TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SUBJECTS ONLY)

Truancy	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	100	2	40	5	—	—
Not Truant	39	143	18	328	9	800
Total	39	145	19	333	9	800
	Blue Collar					
Truant	91	11	74	23	75	4
Not Truant	61	372	41	1052	27	446
Total	62	383	42	1075	27	450
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	42	12	20	5	0	1
Total	42	12	20	5	0	1
	Blue Collar					
Truant	71	7	0	1	—	—
Not Truant	45	67	0	1	0	5
Total	47	74	0	2	0	5

TABLE V-14B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS REPORTING THEY WANT TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SUBJECTS ONLY) (continued)

Truancy	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	33	3	50	3
Not Truant	51	136	25	838	12	979
Total	51	136	25	841	12	981
			Blue Collar			
Truant	77	30	73	15	67	3
Not Truant	67	332	51	1343	34	515
Total	67	362	52	1358	35	518
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	14	14	17	6	--	--
Total	14	14	17	6	--	--
			Blue Collar			
Truant	75	4	33	3	--	--
Not Truant	28	80	26	57	--	--
Total	30	84	27	60	--	--

comparison in Table V-11. Only about one in every four truants aspires to a college education. This can be contrasted with two in every five delinquents aspiring to a college education. This substantial relationship is independent of the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent for both the truant-conformer and delinquent-conformer comparisons when a sign test of significance is used. The relationship holds without attentuation in almost all of the subgroups as an examination of Table V-14 will confirm. There seems little question therefore that deviators hold lower aspirations about school than do conformers regardless of their socioeconomic status as well as their race, sex and I.Q. position. Either deviators lower their aspirations considerably after their deviation or their aspirations are lower prior to their deviation. In any event truant and delinquent deviators also depart markedly from the adolescent educational aspiration levels in society.

Schooling in American Society has to some extent a dual objective--to educate everyone for participation in a democratic society and to prepare at least some to reach a vocational objective. Schools differ considerably in the extent to which they emphasize a vocational objective in their curriculum. Some are deliberately organized to teach vocations, others are primarily organized to prepare students to enter colleges or professional schools where they will more deliberately pursue a vocational objective and, still others, have relatively little vocational emphasis in the curriculum. Despite these differences among schools which may markedly affect an adolescent's choice of an occupational goal, there is a general cultural emphasis on selection of a vocation which prevades adolescent culture. This emphasis is generally much stronger among older than younger adolescents and among boys than girls. We have already noted the reasons for this difference between boys and girls. Boys are expected to earn a living for themselves and later the families which

TABLE V-15: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENT AND TRUANT DEVIATORS AND OF CONFORMERS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY POPULATION ONLY)

	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	50	2	27	11	30	10
Truant	--	--	50	4	--	--
Conformer	41	85	13	274	8	737
Total	41	85	14	278	8	737
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	89	65	68	41	42	12
Truant	100	5	80	20	33	3
Conformer	64	231	44	817	28	406
Total	64	236	45	837	28	409
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	--	--	--	--
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Conformer	50	4	25	4	0	1
Total	50	4	25	4	0	1
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	67	3	--	1	--	--
Truant	67	6	0	1	--	--
Conformer	42	36	33	21	50	14
Total	45	42	32	22	50	14

TABLE V-15: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENT AND TRUANT DEVIATORS AND OF CONFORMERS REPORTING MOTHER WANTS THEM TO GET NO MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY POPULATION ONLY) (continued)

	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	—	—	100	2	50	2
Truant	—	—	50	2	0	1
Conformer	52	100	28	733	13	939
Total	52	100	29	735	13	940
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	78	9	25	4
Truant	60	5	94	17	50	2
Conformer	74	250	55	1160	39	477
Total	73	255	55	1177	39	479
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	—	—	—	—	—	—
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Conformer	56	9	17	6	—	—
Total	56	9	17	6	—	—
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	40	5	50	2	—	—
Truant	67	3	33	3	—	—
Conformer	51	63	36	47	—	—
Total	51	66	36	50	—	—

they establish. While girls increasingly enter and remain in the labor force both before and after marriage, many of them place an equal if not greater emphasis on the necessity of pursuing "marriage as a career." For this reason, we shall examine occupational goals only for boys, although Tables 16B and 17B provide relevant information for girls as well.

Our information on the selection of occupational goals is limited to our county school population. One therefore should not take these estimates as reliable ones for the total metropolitan area population of adolescents. Nonetheless, the pattern of occupational goal selection observed for our adolescent population is quite similar to that observed for a U.S. sample of boys 14 to 16 years of age.13/ Looking at our population of boys and assuming they do not depart too markedly from the aspirations which all boys in the metropolitan area hold, we observe that 55 per cent of them are oriented toward professional and semi-professional occupations. A detailed analysis shows that the majority of these want to be "engineers" of one kind or another. An additional 13 per cent want to enter the sales and clerical occupations. In all, 71 per cent of the boys want to enter white-collar occupations, a percentage well above that of available white-collar openings in any community of any size in the United States. Interestingly enough only three per cent of our boys want to enter the managerial,proprietary and official occupations--a percentage below that necessary for replacement of this occupational group in the occupational structure of both the United States and the Nashville Standard Metropolitan Area. If we think of these managerial and proprietary occupations as those which are primarily the higher prestige "capitalistic" occupations, then we find very little evidence that our adolescent boys are oriented toward

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13/ See Table 9, A Study of Adolescent Boys, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Boys Scouts of America, 1955.

TABLE V-16A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENT AND NON-DELINQUENT MALES ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)

Delinquency Classification	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Semi-Professional	Professional	Total
				Low I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	—	—	33	33	33	—	3
Non-Delinquent	17	10	26	5	12	30	146
Total	16	10	26	5	13	29	148
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	42	11	16	—	5	26	19
Non-Delinquent	37	21	12	3	10	17	431
Total	38	21	12	2	10	17	450
				Middle I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	14	14	36	14	—	21	14
Non-Delinquent	7	9	15	5	20	44	698
Total	7	9	15	6	20	44	712
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	34	14	11	2	27	11	44
Non-Delinquent	20	16	12	3	31	19	977
Total	21	16	12	3	30	19	1021
				High I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	—	10	20	—	20	50	10
Non-Delinquent	2	6	12	4	16	61	744
Total	2	6	12	4	16	61	754
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	20	10	—	—	10	60	10
Non-Delinquent	10	14	8	1	18	50	411
Total	10	14	7	1	18	50	421

TABLE V-16b -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	50	—	—	50	—	2
Not Truant	16	10	27	5	42	135
Total	17	10	26	6	41	137
	Blue Collar					
Truant	43	29	7	—	21	14
Not Truant	38	21	11	7	23	371
Total	38	21	11	7	23	385
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	8	8	15	—	69	13
Total	8	8	15	—	69	13
	Blue Collar					
Truant	57	29	—	—	14	7
Not Truant	33	17	18	5	27	66
Total	36	18	16	4	26	73

TABLE V-16b — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)(continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	3	16	44	—	37	124
Total	3	16	44	—	37	124
			Blue Collar			
Truant	—	—	71	—	29	7
Not Truant	5	11	45	—	40	325
Total	5	10	46	—	40	332
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	—	7	7	—	86	14
Total	—	7	7	—	86	14
			Blue Collar			
Truant	—	33	33	—	33	3
Not Truant	5	4	27	—	64	81
Total	5	5	27	—	63	84

TABLE V-16B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	20	--	40	--	40	5
Not Truant	7	9	15	6	64	701
Total	7	9	15	6	64	706
	Blue Collar					
Truant	39	13	13	--	35	23
Not Truant	21	16	12	3	50	968
Total	21	16	12	3	49	991
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	20	40	--	--	40	5
Total	20	40	--	--	40	5
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	100	--	--	2
Not Truant	21	7	7	4	61	28
Total	20	7	13	3	57	30

TABLE V-16B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	33	33	33	3
Not Truant	4	7	32	1	56	794
Total	4	7	32	1	56	797
	Blue Collar					
Truant	14	14	43	--	29	14
Not Truant	6	8	44	1	42	1265
Total	6	8	44	1	42	1279
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	17	--	83	6
Total	--	--	17	--	83	6
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	33	--	67	3
Not Truant	7	4	37	--	52	54
Total	7	4	37	--	53	57

TABLE V-16B: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	2	6	12	4	76	752
Total	2	6	12	4	76	752
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	20	10	--	20	5
Not Truant	10	14	7	1	68	412
Total	10	14	7	1	68	417
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	100	1
Total	--	--	--	--	100	1
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	40	--	--	60	5
Total	--	40	--	--	60	5

TABLE V-16B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS ASPIRING TO SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GOALS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	50	--	50	2
Not Truant	4	10	23	2	61	922
Total	4	10	23	2	61	924
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	67	--	33	3
Not Truant	4	7	38	0	51	498
Total	4	7	38	0	51	501
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE V-17A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENT AND NON-DELINQUENT MALES IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)

Delinquency Classification	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Semi-Professional	Professional	Total
				Low I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	—	—	33	33	—	33	3
Non-Delinquent	7	16	27	4	8	39	119
Total	7	16	27	5	7	39	122
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	25	33	17	—	—	25	12
Non-Delinquent	27	18	20	1	8	27	346
Total	27	19	20	1	6	27	358
				Middle I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	—	21	43	—	7	29	14
Non-Delinquent	3	11	18	4	11	53	561
Total	3	11	19	4	11	53	575
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	24	9	25	3	18	32	34
Non-Delinquent	10	15	14	2	9	50	765
Total	11	15	14	2	9	49	799
				High I.Q.			
				White Collar			
Delinquent	—	—	14	—	28	57	7
Non-Delinquent	1	7	11	4	8	68	524
Total	1	7	12	4	8	68	531
				Blue Collar			
Delinquent	—	17	—	—	—	83	6
Non-Delinquent	4	14	10	2	8	62	313
Total	4	14	10	2	8	62	319

TABLE V-17B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	50	50	2
Not Truant	8	11	31	5	46	103
Total	8	11	31	6	46	105
	Blue Collar					
Truant	56	33	--	--	11	9
Not Truant	28	14	20	1	33	275
Total	29	14	20	1	37	284
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	10	10	--	80	10
Total	--	10	10	--	80	10
	Blue Collar					
Truant	33	33	17	--	17	6
Not Truant	21	17	23	2	37	52
Total	22	19	22	2	35	58

TABLE V-17B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	4	--	49	--	47	81
Total	4	--	49	--	47	81
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	50	--	50	6
Not Truant	5	1	48	1	46	242
Total	4	1	48	1	46	248
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	9	--	91	11
Total	--	--	9	--	91	11
	Blue Collar					
Truant	33	33	33	--	--	3
Not Truant	9	--	25	--	66	67
Total	10	1	26	--	63	70

TABLE V-17B : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	25	--	75	4
Not Truant	3	4	20	5	68	530
Total	3	4	20	5	68	534
			Blue Collar			
Truant	35	6	24	--	35	17
Not Truant	11	10	15	2	62	711
Total	12	10	15	2	62	728
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	25	25	--	50	4
Total	--	25	25	--	50	4
			Blue Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	100	2
Not Truant	5	9	14	--	73	22
Total	4	8	13	--	75	24

TABLE V-17B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY) (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	3	0	35	1	61	484
Total	3	0	35	1	61	484
	Blue Collar					
Truant	22	--	33	--	44	9
Not Truant	3	1	47	1	48	877
Total	4	1	47	1	48	886
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	20	--	80	5
Total	--	--	20	--	80	5
	Blue Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	--	100	2
Not Truant	5	3	18	--	74	38
Total	5	3	18	--	75	40

TABLE V-17B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)(continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	1	3	12	4	80	507
Total	1	3	12	4	80	507
			Blue Collar			
Truant	25	--	25	--	50	4
Not Truant	4	10	10	[illegible]	74	297
Total	4	10	10	[illegible]	73	301
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	--	--	--	--	--
			Blue Collar			
Truant	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	--	25	--	--	75	4
Total	--	25	--	--	75	4

TABLE V-13B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FOR SUBJECT: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (COUNTY SEGMENT ONLY)(continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.					
	Operatives, Laborers, & Service Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Sales, Clerical & Kindred Workers	Managers, Proprietors & Officials	Professional & Semi-Professional	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	—	—	50	—	50	2
Not Truant	2	[illegible]	28	1	68	471
Total	2	[illegible]	28	1	67	473
			Blue Collar			
Truant	—	—	100	—	—	1
Not Truant	5	1	57	1	36	240
Total	5	1	57	1	36	241
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Blue Collar			
Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—

"capitalistic" occupations. Nor do we find evidence that they are primarily oriented toward the official bureaucratic and clerical occupations. Rather the detailed analysis shows that the prevailing orientation is toward the old established professions of medicine and law, the newer profession of engineering, the semi-professional airplaine pilot, and the service occupations of appliance and automotive repair and maintenance. The cultural emphasis apparent in selecting an occupational goal is twofold--selecting a service profession or occupation or selecting an occupation with the aura of modern technological specialization. Thus one wants to be a doctor, airplaine pilot, TV repairman, electronics engineer, etc. There is in addition, a smaller group of boys oriented toward the semi-professional athlete role as well. Almost all of the orientation toward manual occupations is in terms of either the skilled crafts and the automobile mechanic,or the skilled trades such as tool and die makers, printers, painters, etc. Proportionately few of the boys aspire to semi-skilled occupations. In general then, boys in our society are oriented in the aggregate toward an occupational structure of generally higher prestige than that which we now have and, toward upward mobility if their family occupational origins are taken into account.

As Table V-11 shows on examination, the aggregate of boys perceive their mothers as holding somewhat higher occupational aspirations for them on the average than do the boys themselves, but the differences are not large. Proportionately more of the boys see their mothers than themselves as holding professional and semi-professional, sales, clerical and kindred occupational goals and proportionately fewer of the mothers than boys themselves orient toward the manual occupations.

Tables V-11, 16 and 17 also show that there are race, I.Q. and ascribed status differences in the selection of occupational goals. Looking first at the professions we note that whites are more likely than Negroes, high than low I.Q. and white collars than blue collars to select professional and semi-professional occupations as the goal to which they aspire. White collars are more than twice as likely to choose the managerial, proprietary and official occupations as are blue collars, with no discernible race or I.Q. difference in their selection. Similarly there are no marked race, I.Q. or ascribed socioeconomic status differences in the selection of the sales, clerical and kindred occupations. The other major difference occurs for the selection of the manual occupations with Negroes, low I.Q. and blue-collar subjects more likely to select them.

Sociologists have observed that among lower status adolescents some of the boys are quite oriented toward middle status values of achievement. Whyte speaks of these as "college boys" and Cohen observes that teachers tend to select and encourage some of these boys to perform in terms of middle status standards. Looking at Table 16 and 17 we find an interesting and important relationship between ascribed socioeconomic status and I.Q. Looking first at Table 17 where subjects report mothers vocational goal for them we find that among blue-collar males 27 per cent of the low I.Q., 49 per cent of the middle I.Q. and 62 per cent of the high I.Q. see their mothers as holding professional occupational goals for them. But in Table 16 we see that 17 per cent of the low I.Q., 19 per cent of the middle I.Q. and 50 per cent of the high I.Q. boys aspire to professional goals. The low and high I.Q. blue-collar boys have occupational aspirations on the average fairly close to those of their mothers, but the middle I.Q. boys show a marked discrepancy with mothers of middle I.Q. boys holding on the average much higher aspirations for their boys than do the boys themselves. These blue-collar middle I.Q. boys are therefore most subject to pressures from mothers to aspire beyond their own expectations.

Comparing the aspirations of blue-collar and white-collar boys, we find that the white-collar mothers are more likely than the blue-collar mothers of low I.Q. boys to hold professional goals for their sons (and least likely to hold operative and laborer aspirations). But there is not too much difference for middle and high I.Q. boys in the aspirations of white- and blue-collar mothers. For the boys themselves however, the greatest white-collar--blue-collar discrepency again occurs in the middle I.Q. group. The reason for this is that white-collar, middle I.Q. boys resemble their mothers' expectations in their aspirations while the blue-collar boys do not. In all cases of course the ascribed socioeconomic status difference prevails, with proportionately more white-collar than blue-collar boys wanting professional and semiprofessional jobs and more of the latter than the former wanting operative and laborer jobs.

Over one-half of all low I.Q., blue-collar boys aspire to manual occupations while almost 70 per cent of all high I.Q., blue-collar boys aspire to professional and semiprofessional jobs. White-collar boys, regardless of their I.Q. are led to aspire to white-collar jobs.

Some other interesting differences appear between I.Q. and socioeconomic status and selection of a vocation. It is the low I.Q., white-collar boy who is most likely to aspire to the lowest prestige white-collar occupations of sales and clerical work while high I.Q., blue-collar boys are least likely to aspire to these jobs! And it is the middle I.Q. boy, more likely blue- than white-collar, who aspires to the semi-professional jobs; many of these are the aspiring athletes and musicians--those who want to capitalize on a special talent--or those who want to be airplane pilots or army officers.

In summary, we are inclined to emphasize that the low I.Q. boy in our society who is of blue-collar origin is most likely to accept the blue-collar goals while ascribed status is much less determinative of occupational aspirations among high I.Q. boys. High I.Q. boys on the whole are oriented toward the white-collar occupations.

If one views the selection of a manual occupation as a downwardly mobile aspiration for a white-collar boy and conversely the selection of a white-collar occupation as an upwardly mobile aspiration for a blue-collar boy, then we find that in all I.Q.-ascribed status subgroups except the low I.Q.,blue-collar subgroup, the majority of boys are upwardly mobile. On the other hand at least one-fourth of all low I.Q.,blue-collar boys are downwardly mobile in this sense. Clearly however in our society, the occupational aspirations of adolescent boys reflect the tremendous cultural emphasis on upward mobility. Furthermore their aspirations and their mother's reported expectations tend also to reflect the tremendous prestige value associated with the professions. One might argue though that the professions are selected because they appear to be the highest prestige occupations of greatest access, given occupational origin while the business occupations are least selected because they are of least access unless one has a high occupational origin.

Truants and delinquents have lower occupational aspirations than do conformers. The differences are larger however for truants than conformers. And the mothers of deviators hold somewhat high occupational aspirations for the deviators than do the deviators themselves. A majority of all truant deviators select manual occupations and a majority of them see their mothers as holding manual occupational expeqtations for them. Not so for the delinquents however. Delinquents are more "white-collar" oriented. Since the numbers of deviators in I.Q.-ascribed socioeconomic status subgroups is small, it is difficult to determine the stability of this relationship in these subgroups. The deviator-conformer differences persist for ascribed status but not I.Q.

subgroups, it being evident only in the middle I.Q. subgroup. For this reason, the original difference is not apparent in most I.Q.-ascribed status subgroups. We are inclined to conclude that the deviator-conformer difference is independent of ascribed status, however.

There is a substantial difference in the proportion of subjects who have a definite occupational goal and who report an occupational expectation being held by their mother. Roughly three times as many adolescent boys do not report their mothers goal (32 per cent) as report their own goal (11 per cent). The comparable percentages for girls are 45 and 15 per cent. There is some variation in nonreporting by I.Q. with more of the low I.Q. than high I.Q. boys having no aspiration of their own, but these differences are small. Proportionately more of the boys than of the girls have a definite goal, as is to be expected given their greater orientation toward getting a job. Interestingly enough only seven per cent of all girls selected "housewife" as their occupational goal. There is a clear cut difference between deviators and conformers in selection of an occupational goal, with deviators less likely to have selected such a goal and to know their mother's expectations. This difference however is almost entirely due to the fact that blue-collar deviators are much less likely to have selected a goal or to know their mother's expectations than are white-collar conformers.

Educational aspirations of adolescents can be evaluated in terms of their willingness to continue their education or, correlatively, by their desire or intention to quit school. The behavioral act of quitting school can occur for a variety of reasons. It can occur even when educational attainment aspirations are high, since the adolescent may be subject to pressures to quit which override the high aspiration. Logically then a desire to quit school does not necessarily mean a low attainment goal, but a desire to quit school before graduation from high school means at least that if high attainment goals exist, they are sacrificed to the "desire to quit" for other reasons. Below we shall explore the educational attainment orientations of boys and girls in terms of three "quit school" measures. These measures were discussed in Chapter II and utilized in the analysis of Chapter IV. No further discussion of their development therefore is necessary here.

The quit school scale utilized as a basis of measurement in Tables V-18A and 18B was developed to measure the propensity of the adolescent to quit school. Table 18 reports the percentage of adolescents with "high" quit school scale scores--those who accepted one or both of the two most extreme items: "I want to quit school right now" and/or "Most of the time I don't want to go to school." These scale types presumably measure the two most extreme positions in the scale; they are not necessarily the most extreme positions of propensity to quit school. The reader again should keep in mind that the validity of the content dimension--desire to quit school--is not demonstrated. Furthermore, it should also be kept in mind that a strongly expressed desire to quit school does not mean that the person will carry the intent into action. The attitude is the tendency to act, but other elements intervene between attitude and action. The validity of such a quit school scale therefore does not rest altogether in whether or not one quits school. These two extreme scale types include roughly a third of all subjects. By our measure then, these are the subjects among all adolescents in our population with relatively the strongest propensity to quit school.

The desire to quit school shows a very substantial relationship with the sex and I.Q. of the adolescent and somewhat smaller relationships with the race and ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent. From the zero order relationships in Table V-11, the white boy with low I.Q. and blue-collar status

TABLE V-18A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES[1], WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	50	18	67	39	37	21
Non-Delinquent	44	237	39	1170	30	1058
Total	45	255	40	1209	27	1079
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	63	88	63	142	41	29
Non-Delinquent	53	776	47	1914	34	610
Total	54	864	49	2056	35	639
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Delinquent	50	8	25	4	0	1
Non-Delinquent	34	80	26	62	29	17
Total	35	88	26	66	28	18
	Blue Collar					
Delinquent	53	34	33	21	0	1
Non-Delinquent	37	431	31	222	46	28
Total	38	465	31	243	45	29

TABLE V-18A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES[1], WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	43	7	50	4
Non-Delinquent	31	210	25	1226	19	1228
Total	32	211	25	1233	19	1232
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	72	18	72	32	33	6
Non-Delinquent	37	709	27	2305	20	791
Total	38	727	28	2337	20	797
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	50	2	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	27	77	75	95	92	24
Total	28	79	25	95	8	24
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	41	17	33	6	--	--
Non-Delinquent	27	446	23	411	83	41
Total	27	463	24	417	17	41

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[1] Subjects with high scale scores accept one or both of the two most extreme items: "I want to quit school right now," and "most of the time I don't want to go to school."

TABLE V-18B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES[1/], WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	50	2	64	11	50	2
Not Truant	50	173	42	924	30	857
Total	50	175	42	935	30	859
			Blue Collar			
Truant	70	54	73	66	40	10
Not Truant	54	510	48	1402	35	507
Total	55	564	49	1468	35	517
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	50	2	50	2	--	--
Not Truant	31	45	27	49	42	12
Total	32	47	27	51	42	12
			Blue Collar			
Truant	47	17	50	8	0	1
Not Truant	38	263	27	170	52	23
Total	38	280	28	178	50	24

TABLE V-18B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WITH HIGH QUIT SCHOOL SCALE SCORES[1], WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	--	--	42	12	40	5
Not Truant	29	144	25	958	19	1000
Total	29	144	26	970	19	1005
	Blue Collar					
Truant	64	33	51	47	38	8
Not Truant	37	476	26	1747	18	648
Total	39	509	27	1794	19	656
	Negro Females					
	White Collar					
Truant	100	1	100	2	--	--
Not Truant	32	53	28	75	11	19
Total	33	54	30	77	11	19
	Blue Collar					
Truant	50	10	29	7	100	1
Not Truant	28	315	26	303	12	34
Total	29	325	26	310	14	35

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[1] Subjects with high scale scores accept one or both of the two most extreme items: "I want to quit school right now" and "Most of the time I don't want to go to school."

should be most desirous of quitting school. Fifty-four per cent of the boys in this subgroup are in the two most extreme scale types as compared with 34 per cent of all adolescents; the subgroup differs significantly from all other race-sex-I.Q.-socioeconomic status subgroups in Table V-18. Correlatively we would predict that high I.Q., white-collar Negro girls will be least likely to want to quit school and this is the case in Table V-18 as only eight per cent of these girls are in the two extreme types of the quit school scale. The subgroup range therefore is about 46 per cent.

Are deviators, particularly truants and delinquents, more likely than conformers to want to quit school? Truant deviators, if they are not also delinquent, will no longer be deviators if they are given the opportunity to quit school. For many truants and delinquents, the opportunity to quit school leads to the adoption of alternative conforming goals and subsequently leads to a conforming style of life. Truant (61 per cent) and delinquent (57 per cent) deviators are more likely than conforming adolescents (33 per cent) to be represented in the two most extreme scale types of the quit school scale. This relationship is independent of the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent for both the delinquent-conformer and the truant-conformer comparisons when the sign test is used in the comparisons of Table V-18A and B. The relationship may be slightly attenuated for Negroes but not whites and somewhat stronger for girls than boys.

The quit school scale is a poor predictor of both truant and delinquent conduct since many conforming adolescents want to quit school. Yet it is apparent that the desire to quit school characterizes a substantially larger proportion of deviators than of conformers. Consequently, though the school system does not appear to be an attractive opportunity to about a third of all our adolescents, it is even less so for deviators. Almost three-fourths of all low I.Q., blue-collar boys who are truant in fact are in the extreme scale types of the quit school scale.

The role which the I.Q. of the adolescent plays in the desire to quit school cannot be ignored. Within each race-sex-ascribed socioeconomic status subgroup, (except Negro males where the pattern is not as clear) low I.Q. adolescents are more likely to want to quit school than are high I.Q. adolescents. While the number of cases involved often is small, this I.Q. relationship does not appear to hold very well for deviators however, suggesting that I.Q. is not as important a factor in the desire of deviators to quit school.

In Chapter IV we discussed the effect which the compulsory school attendance norms have on truant deviation; these laws define the class of truant deviators. At the same time the act of truancy frequently becomes an element in a more generalized delinquency pattern. Aggression is directed against the school norms as well as against the property and person norms of the society. Cohen hypothesizes that rejection of the school is an element in the reaction formation pattern of the delinquent subculture. Cohen and Whyte also consider truancy as a normatively preferred pattern in the corner boy culture of the slum dweller.[14] Violation of the norm of compulsory school attendance then is for truants a form of active rebellion against the norm itself. Often however it may be an act of rebellion against the middle status oriented world, at least for career-oriented delinquents. We chose as a measure of the extent to which a feeling of coercion is involved in the desire to quit school, the item: "I want to quit school because I am forced to go." We assume this item measures to some extent the degree to which the desire to quit school stems from a feeling of coercion. Logically this feeling of coercion should be more likely to take the form of actual rebellion against the norm as in truant or delinquent deviation. Yet not all feelings of coercion will be translated into acts of rebellion as other controlling elements will enter into the course of action.

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[14] Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys, op. cit., Chapter V, and William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. 98-104.

Most boys and girls do not express a feeling that they want to quit school as they feel coerced into attending; only nine per cent of all adolescents agree that they want to quit school as they feel forced to go. Proportionately more of the boys (11 per cent) than of the girls (6 per cent), of low (12 per cent) than of high I.Q. (4 per cent) and of blue-collar (10 per cent) than of white-collar (5 per cent) adolescents want to quit school as they feel forced to go, (see Table V-11). There is only a very small race difference. There are surprisingly few important age differences except those noted in Chapter IV. The proportion of seventeen year olds who want to quit school as forced to go is below that for other age groups; this 16 and over age group of course can legally quit school as the law no longer compels them to attend. On the basis of these zero order relationships we would expect that blue-collar, low I.Q., white boys would be most likely to want to quit school as they feel forced to go. We do find that the 935 low I.Q., blue-collar, white boys are most likely (20 per cent) among the subgroups in Table V-19 to want to quit school as they feel the coercive pressure of the norm; the only subgroup where there also is a fairly high proportion who want to quit as they feel coerced into attending are the low I.Q., white-collar, white boys. Negro girls with high I.Q.'s and of white-collar origins would be least likely to want to quit because of feelings of coercion. None of the 25 Negro girls in this subgroup want to quit, but this is also the case for the 42 high I.Q., blue-collar, Negro girls, suggesting that I.Q. is more important than socioeconomic status in determining the predisposition of Negro girls to quit as they feel coerced to attend. Given the relatively small proportion of adolescents who want to quit school because they

TABLE V-19A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO," BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	26	19	17	42	14	21
Non-Delinquent	14	257	9	1199	4	1085
Total	15	276	10	1241	4	1106
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	33	98	27	147	19	31
Non-Delinquent	18	837	12	1936	7	644
Total	20	935	13	2083	7	675
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	0	8	0	4	0	1
Non-Delinquent	8	80	7	62	12	17
Total	7	88	6	66	11	18
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	11	37	9	22	0	1
Non-Delinquent	10	455	5	228	10	29
Total	10	492	6	250	10	30

TABLE V-19A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO," BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	0	1	50	6	25	4
Non-Delinquent	7	216	2	1244	2	1248
Total	7	217	6	1250	3	1252
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	29	17	38	34	17	6
Non-Delinquent	10	736	7	2374	5	794
Total	10	753	7	2408	5	800
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	0	2	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	5	79	2	97	0	25
Total	5	81	2	97	0	25
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	19	16	0	6	--	--
Non-Delinquent	8	468	3	416	0	42
Total	9	484	3	422	0	42

TABLE V-19B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO", BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	60	5	29	14	25	4
Not Truant	13	270	9	1241	4	1104
Total	14	275	10	1255	4	1108
			Blue Collar			
Truant	43	77	32	88	18	11
Not Truant	18	858	12	1994	7	664
Total	20	935	13	2082	7	675
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	0	4	0	2	--	--
Not Truant	7	84	6	65	7	28
Total	7	88	6	67	7	28
			Blue Collar			
Truant	24	29	22	9	0	1
Not Truant	9	462	5	241	10	29
Total	10	491	6	250	10	30

TABLE V-19B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AS FORCED TO GO", BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	1	21	14	33	6
Not Truant	6	216	5	1236	2	1246
Total	6	217	6	1250	3	1252
			Blue Collar			
Truant	24	38	33	55	22	9
Not Truant	10	714	6	2353	4	791
Total	10	752	7	2408	5	800
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	0	1	0	3	--	--
Not Truant	5	80	2	94	0	25
Total	5	81	2	97	0	25
			Blue Collar			
Truant	17	12	0	8	0	1
Not Truant	8	473	3	414	0	41
Total	9	485	3	422	0	42

feel coerced into attending, the subgroup range of 20 per cent is a substantial one. From the standpoint of predicting rebellion against the norm, the highest proportion of adolescents with a desire to quit school because of a feeling of being forced to attend occurs in the subgroup with the highest rates of truant and delinquent deviation. Subcultural delinquents and corner boys are most likely to come from the white male, low I.Q., blue-collar ascribed status group in our metropolitan area. Nonetheless, the wish to quit because of a feeling of coercion is a poor predictor of acts of rebellion in the form of truancy and delinquency.

Truant (28 per cent) and delinquent (23 per cent) deviators however are more likely to want to quit school as forced to attend than do conformers (9 per cent). The desire to quit seems somewhat less salient for delinquents than truants. On the whole however the desire does not appear particularly strong for either group of deviators suggesting that the rebellion does not arise primarily from the coercive pressure of the compulsory school attendance norm. The deviator-conformer difference in desire to quit because of the coercive pressure of the norm also is not independent of the race of the adolescent; it holds only for the white subgroup. But the relationship is stronger for the truant-conformer than for the delinquent conformer comparisons. Even the truant-conformer difference disappears at the fourth order partial relationship for race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status as examination of Table V-19 discloses.

Although age bears no substantial relationship to the desire to quit because of a feeling of coercion to attend,it isintroduced at the fifth order of partial association as a relevant control since we observed that older subjects were least likely to feel the coercive pressure of the norm; they can legally quit. When we introduce age in addition to race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status and disregard the Negro subgroups since the relationship does not hold for the Negroes in our population, we find that the relationship holds by age. It is considerably attenuated for subjects over 16 years of age, but it remains strong for whites under 16 years of age, particularly for the truant-conformer comparisons. It appears then that white deviators, particularly truants, are more likely than white conformers, particularly nontruants, to want to quit school as they feel forced to attend and that this relationship is independent of sex, I.Q., and ascribed socioeconomic status. Though attenuated for the older age group, it also holds by age.

We do not have a sufficiently large number of truants to test the relationship for each of our defined types of truancy. There are rather large numbers of truants among white, blue-collar boys under 16 years of age however. Looking at the relationship by type of truancy for this subgroup, we find that about three-fifths of the delinquent truants feel the coercive pressure of the norm as compared with two-fifths of the habitual truants and 27 per cent of the sporadic truants. This relationship probably holds only for this subgroup, but it is the subgroup in our population with the highest rates of truant and delinquent deviation. It appears therefore that when truancy is a part of a patterned delinquent activity, a substantial proportion of the boys do truant in the sense of rebelling againt the coercive pressures of the norm.

Only a very small proportion of all conformers and less than 30 per cent of all deviators express feelings of coercion agains the norms of compulsory school attendance as a factor in their wanting to quit school. An alternative conforming goal to that of going to school is to quit school and go to work in a full time job. In Chapter IV, we outlined the difficulties attendant upon adolescents in our society attempting to get full time jobs, including the legal barriers to quitting in the form of child labor and compulsory school attendance laws. Despite the restriction on opportunities to quit school and go to work, we attempted to see whether the desire to quit school might be related to a desire to conform to the alternative goal of working at a full time job.

Twice as many adolescents (18 per cent) want to quit school and go to work as want to quit school as forced to go. This proportion is somewhat greater than the 13 per cent of all adolescents who "want to quit school right now," the most extreme response on the quit school scale. There is virtually no race difference in the proportion expressing a desire to quit school and go to work, but there is a substantial sex difference with 22 per cent of all boys and only 14 per cent of all girls agreeing they want to quit school and go to work. Over three times as many of the low (27 per cent) as of the high (8 per cent) I.Q. and twice as many of the blue- (22 per cent) as of the white-collar (11 per cent) want to quit school and go to work. From these zero order relationships in Table V-11 we would expect to find that low I.Q. blue-collar boys are most likely to want to quit school and go to work. The relationship is particularly striking for white boys where over four-fifths of the 939 blue-collar, white boys of low I.Q. want to quit school and go to work. This proportion is significantly different from that of all other subgroups in Table V-20. But the relationship is less apparent for Negro boys. Within the subgroup most vulnerable to truant and delinquent deviation comes close to endorsing the norm that work is to be preferred to schooling in the sense that almost a majority of these boys want to quit school and go to work.

Almost half (48 per cent) of the truant and 42 per cent of the delinquents as compared with 17 per cent of the conformers want to quit school and go to work (Table V-11). There is not too much difference in the expression of this desire by the type of truant. Slightly more (55 per cent) of the delinquent truants than of the sporadic (46 per cent) and the habitual (44 per cent) truants

TABLE V-20A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK," BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	47	19	29	41	19	21
Non-Delinquent	26	255	16	1207	7	1079
Total	27	274	16	1248	8	1100
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	64	100	46	144	38	29
Non-Delinquent	39	839	24	1915	11	633
Total	42	939	26	2059	13	662
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	38	8	25	4	0	1
Non-Delinquent	18	83	9	67	12	17
Total	20	91	11	66	11	18
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	44	36	18	22	0	1
Non-Delinquent	24	450	18	228	10	29
Total	25	486	18	250	10	30

TABLE V-20A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK," BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	100	1	29	7	50	4
Non-Delinquent	19	212	10	1246	5	1244
Total	19	213	10	1253	5	1248
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	65	17	50	34	0	6
Non-Delinquent	27	729	15	2352	8	792
Total	28	746	15	2386	79	798
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	0	2	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	17	79	5	97	4	24
Total	16	81	5	97	4	24
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	18	17	33	6	--	--
Non-Delinquent	19	460	9	408	12	42
Total	19	477	9	414	12	42

TABLE V-20B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK", BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
	White Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	60	5	31	13	0	4
Not Truant	27	269	16	1234	8	1096
Total	28	274	16	1247	8	1100
	Blue Collar					
Truant	72	78	57	89	20	10
Not Truant	39	861	24	1969	12	652
Total	42	939	26	2058	13	662
	Negro Males					
	White Collar					
Truant	25	4	0	2	--	--
Not Truant	20	87	11	64	11	18
Total	20	91	11	66	11	18
	Blue Collar					
Truant	39	28	22	9	0	1
Not Truant	24	458	17	241	10	29
Total	25	486	18	250	10	30

TABLE V-20B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WANTING TO "QUIT SCHOOL AND GO TO WORK", BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	1	43	14	17	6
Not Truant	19	212	10	1239	5	1242
Total	19	213	10	1253	5	1248
			Blue Collar			
Truant	50	38	49	55	0	9
Not Truant	27	695	15	2331	8	789
Total	28	733	15	2386	8	798
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	0	1	33	3	--	--
Not Truant	16	80	4	94	4	24
Total	16	81	5	97	4	24
			Blue Collar			
Truant	8	12	25	8	--	1
Not Truant	19	465	9	406	12	41
Total	19	477	9	414	12	42

want to quit school and go to work, but these differences are small. It is of some interest to note nevertheless that the habitual truant--the boy or girl for whom truancy is the major source of deviation--may be less likely to want to quit school for a more conforming goal than the delinquent truant. The question arises whether the deviator-conforming difference in desire to quit school and go to work is independent of the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status of the adolescent. Examination of the fourth order partial relationships in Table V-20A and B shows that it is independent, though perhaps attenuated for Negroes. In fact, if Negroes are considered separately, the relationship is not statistically significant by the sign test.

The opportunity to quit school and go to work is age related in American Society. After age 16 the legal norms of Tennessee permit a boy or girl to leave school and to go to work. There nonetheless are restrictions on job opportunities after age 16 as we already noted in Chapter IV. Despite these restrictions, we know that large numbers of adolescents over age 16 have left our school population so that those who remain do so despite their opportunity to legally quit. Since the 16 and over age group has been decimated by dropouts and since proportionately more of the deviators than of the conformers have left school (as we saw in Chapter IV), we would expect that the deviator-conforming difference in desire to quit school and go to work would not be as strong for the 16 and over age group. This is in fact the case. The relationship is greater among the group that is compelled by the legal norms to remain in school.

Adolescent Behavior in the School

There are marked differences among adolescents in their performance in the several activities associated with the American secondary school. Some of these differences no doubt are associated with personal characteristics of the adolescents but some may also be regarded as the effects of differences in the life circumstances of adolescents or their position in the social structure of American Society. We propose to analyze in this section the effect of social position on adolescent performance in school related activities. School teachers and administrators often classify students according to their performance in three main areas, although other divisions can be recognized. These areas are their academic achievement, their deportment or "conduct" in the school and community, and their participation in extracurricular activities.

Only one measure of performance in each of these areas is chosen for detailed investigation in this chapter. We have chosen reading skill as the measure of academic achievement, a teacher rate of "motivation" as a conforming or deviating person in the school and the community as a measure of deportment, and the number of extracurricular activities in school in which the adolescent participates as the measure of participation in extracurricular activities. These three areas of activity do not of course exhaust the kind of behavior which adolescents exhibit in the school setting and which school people then evaluate. For example, it takes no account of their courtship activity in school, nor of the variety of adolescent subcultural activities which occurs in some if not all schools, except insofar as these are evaluated in teacher ratings of deportment. These three areas however are the ones for which school administrators and teachers assume official responsibility. There are school policies and programs in relation to each of them.

A major basis for learning is the acquisition of skills. The nineteenth century curricular emphasis on learning the "three R's" in the elementary school was an attempt to develop these skills as the basic element in all learning and communication of knowledge. School systems still emphasize these basic skills in their curriculum though in most cases the manner in which they are taught is a far cry from the McGuffey readers, the spelling bee and penmanship, or rehetoric and drill in the multiplication table. Adolescents in the public schools of Nashville and Davidson County regularly take the Stanford Achievement tests through the eighth grade. The subtests of the Stanford Achievement test measure achievement in some substantive areas and for some skills. The Stanford Achievement test generally is regarded as one of the better tests for measuring achievement in the basic skills of reading and arithmetic. The reading score is chosen as the subtest score measuring academic skill achievement for purposes of analysis in this section.

Adolescents in the Nashville Standard Metropolitan Area tend to underachieve relative to national norms of achievement. Table V-21 shows on analysis that 45 per cent of our adolescents performed at grade level but 35 per cent performed below grade level with only 20 per cent above grade level. Evaluation of the performance of a population without respect to its social composition is misleading however since subgroup composition varies considerably from community to community. And some subgroups obviously perform better than others. In the absence of national norms for subgroups in the social structure of American society, we are unable to undertake this form of comparison for our Nashville S.M.A. population.

There is substantial variation in reading achievement skill by social position as the data in Table V-21 discloses on examination. The greatest variation occurs for I.Q. score groups. Three-fourths of all low I.Q. adolescents are below grade level in reading achievement with only one per cent above grade level. But only eight per cent of all high I.Q. adolescents are below grade level in reading skill while 45 per cent are above grade level. As an interesting commentary on education and/or testing, it appears that the Stanford Achievement test either is more discriminating for low that high I.Q. subjects

TABLE V-21. -- TRUANT AND DELINQUENT FORMS OF DEVIATING CONDUCT,
AND RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND ASCRIBED SOCIAL STATUS INDICATORS OF GROUP POSITION
BY ACHIEVEMENT AND PERFORMANCE

Achievement or Performance	Per Cent of Total Population	Deviating Conduct				Group Position									
						Race		Sex		I.Q.			Ascribed Status	
		% Truant	% Not Truant	% Delinq	% Not Delinq	% White	% Negro	% Male	% Female	% Low	% Middle	% High	% Blue Collars	% White Collars
Stanford Achievement Score														
Below Grade Level	35	57	35	54	35	29	71	37	35	75	31	8	42	22
At Grade Level	45	36	45	36	45	49	26	43	46	24	53	47	43	49
Above Grade Level	20	7	20	10	20	22	3	20	19	1	16	45	15	29
Total	12397	347	12050	411	11986	10396	2001	5786	6611	2656	5780	2640	8222	4175
Teacher's Behavior Rating														
Troublemaker	4	20	4	30	4	4	4	6	2	7	3	2	4	2
School Behavior Problem	4	10	4	11	4	4	3	7	2	6	4	3	5	4
Poorly Motivated	15	29	14	25	14	15	13	19	10	21	15	8	16	12
Conformer	77	41	78	34	78	77	80	68	86	66	78	87	75	82
Total	17056	446	16610	587	16469	14762	2294	8191	8865	3221	7560	3779	10625	6431
Membership in School Organizations														
One or None	53	78	52	69	52	51	61	58	48	67	52	43	59	42
Two or More	47	22	48	31	48	49	39	42	52	33	48	57	41	58
Total	17929	418	17511	596	17333	15379	2550	8650	9279	3146	7549	3866	11156	6773

or that high I.Q. subjects are less likely to achieve above grade level as one might expect they should given their I.Q. score. The failure to achieve in relation to "basic" ability to achieve therefore is greater for high than low I.Q. adolescents. There likewise is a very substantial race difference for our population with 71 per cent of the Negro adolescents having below grade level reading skill as contrasted with only 29 per cent of all whites. The ascribed socioeconomic status difference also is large with roughly twice as many blue-collar (42 per cent) as white-collar adolescents (22 per cent) below grade level in achievement. But there is very little sex difference in reading skill. This, as we noted in Chapter IV, is quite surprising given the expected sex difference in performance in substantive areas which are based in part on reading skill. Boys acquire about the same proficiency skill as girls on the average even though they do not generally get as "good" grades in classroom work.

From these zero order relationships we would predict that low I.Q., blue-collar Negro adolescents would have the lowest Stanford Achievement reading scores of any subgroup. And this is the case for 90 per cent of the boys and 87 per cent of the girls in this subgroup have below grade level reading scores with only one per cent above grade level--scores significantly below those of other subgroups in Table V-22. We would predict too that high I.Q., white-collar, white adolescents would have the highest Stanford Achievement reading scores. But this is not the case for above grade level reading scores. It is true that 52 per cent of the white boys and 47 per cent of the white girls in this subgroup are above grade level and 5 per cent are below grade level but it also is true that 57 per cent of the Negro boys in this subgroup have above grade level reading scores with some below grade level. This suggests then that the race difference is to a substantial degree a function of the I.Q. and

TABLE V-22A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WITH BELOW GRADE LEVEL AND ABOVE GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES, BY RACE, SEX, I.Q., AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	Below	Above	Sub-Total	Below	Above	Sub-Total	Below	Above	Sub-Total
					White Males				
					White Collar				
Delinquent	50	10	10	39	21	28	11	44	9
Non-Delinquent	58	3	189	22	24	813	5	52	598
Total	58	4	199	22	23	841	5	52	607
					Blue Collar				
Delinquent	74	3	78	35	13	112	50	17	12
Non-Delinquent	68	2	635	29	16	1473	11	43	500
Total	69	2	713	29	15	1585	12	42	512
					Negro Males				
					White Collar				
Delinquent	100	--	5	50	--	4	0	100	1
Non-Delinquent	82	--	68	49	7	59	--	54	13
Total	84	--	73	49	6	63	--	57	14
					Blue Collar				
Delinquent	92	4	26	69	--	16	--	--	1
Non-Delinquent	90	0	402	56	5	187	35	8	26
Total	90	1	428	57	4	203	33	8	27

TABLE V-22A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS WITH BELOW GRADE LEVEL AND ABOVE GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES, BY RACE, SEX, I.Q., AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	Below	Above	Sub-Total	Below	Above	Sub-Total	Below	Above	Sub-Total
				White Females					
				White Collar					
Delinquent	--	--	1	20	40	5	--	67	3
Non-Delinquent	64	2	154	21	21	886	5	47	772
Total	64	2	155	21	21	891	5	47	775
				Blue Collar					
Delinquent	67	--	15	46	5	22	--	100	2
Non-Delinquent	70	1	562	31	14	1909	9	41	642
Total	70	1	577	31	14	1931	9	41	644
				Negro Females					
				White Collar					
Delinquent	67	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	81	--	68	42	10	88	10	30	20
Total	80	--	71	42	10	88	10	30	20
				Blue Collar					
Delinquent	94	--	17	67	--	6	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	87	1	423	58	4	372	10	17	41
Total	87	1	440	58	3	378	10	17	41

TABLE V-22B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WITH BELOW GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT READING TEST SCORES, BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	3	50	12	—	1
Not Truant	57	197	22	829	5	606
Total	58	200	22	841	5	607
			Blue Collar			
Truant	77	62	47	74	11	9
Not Truant	68	651	28	1511	12	510
Total	69	713	29	1585	12	519
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	3	50	2	—	—
Not Truant	83	71	48	62	—	14
Total	84	74	48	64	—	14
			Blue Collar			
Truant	86	22	83	6	—	1
Not Truant	90	410	57	198	35	26
Total	90	432	57	204	33	27

TABLE V-22B: — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS WITH BELOW GRADE LEVEL STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT READING TEST SCORES, BY RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	100	1	20	10	—	5
Not Truant	64	153	21	874	5	764
Total	64	154	21	884	5	769
			Blue Collar			
Truant	71	28	39	46	13	8
Not Truant	70	549	31	1874	9	629
Total	70	577	31	1920	9	637
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Truant	—	1	50	2	—	—
Not Truant	81	70	42	86	10	20
Total	80	71	42	88	10	20
			Blue Collar			
Truant	90	10	50	8	—	1
Not Truant	87	430	58	370	10	40
Total	87	440	58	378	10	41

ascribed status composition of the Negro adolescent as compared with the white adolescent subgroup.

I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status are "powerful" factors in determining the acquisition of a basic learning skill such as that of reading. If we look again at Table V-22 and examine the data for Negro boys only, we find that the proportion of below grade level achievers ranges from 90 per cent of the low I.Q. blue-collar Negroes to none of the high I.Q., white-collar Negroes--a range of 90 per cent. Or, for white boys, the range is from 69 per cent of all low I.Q., blue-collars below grade level to only 5 per cent of all high I.Q., white-collars--a range of 64 per cent. The effect of I.Q. is greater than that of ascribed status however as even casual inspection of the data in Table V-22 discloses. For example, for white boys the ascribed status variation for below grade level achievers is 10 per cent or less within any of the three I.Q. groups but the I.Q. range is 53 per cent for white-collar and 57 per cent for blue-collar adolescents. The same pattern is generally observed for the other race-sex groups. Whatever is measured by the I.Q. test then *relatively independent of* ascribed socioeconomic status differences is an important determinant (in our system of determinants) of reading skill.

Are truant and delinquent deviators more likely than conformers to be low achievers in reading? Inspection of the data in Table V-21 discloses sizeable differences between deviators and conformers in reading proficiency as measured by the Stanford Achievement reading subtest. Thus at least twice as many conformers as truant and delinquent deviators are above grade level acheivers and there is at least a 20 per cent difference in the proportion of deviator as contrasted with conformer below grade level achievers. Does this difference persist however when the race, sex, I.Q., and ascribed socioeconomic status composition of the deviator as compared with the conformer population is taken into account? The answer is that it does not when the sign test is employed as the test of significance at the fourth order of partial association analysis for both below and above grade level achievement. The deviator-conformer difference then is altogether a function of the difference in the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed status composition of the groups.

Chapter II outlined the procedure utilized to obtain teacher ratings of the conduct of adolescents in the school and community. Teachers were permitted to place a boy or girl in one or more of the categories of conforming, poorly motivated student in school, a behavior problem to school personnel, and a person who either is in trouble or is expected to be in trouble in the community. Most boys and girls (84.2 per cent) were placed in only one of these classifications by the teacher doing the rating. In Tables V-21 and 23 therefore we classified all adolescents into one of the four classes for purposes of analysis. To be classified as a conformer means that no other rating was given the adolescent. All boys and girls classified as poorly motivated students were conforming in the school and the community. But some of the school behavior problem cases were also poorly motivated and some of the troublemakers in the community were also either a school behavior problem and/or a poorly motivated student. Chapter II shows the extent of this overlap.

Let us first examine the structural variation in rating adolescents as conforming persons in the school and the community--77 per cent of all adolescents were tabulated as conformers for the summary in Table V-21. There is very little race though a substantial sex difference with 86 per cent of the girls but only 68 per cent of the boys are classified as conformers. Roughly the same difference is observed between low (66 per cent) and high (87 per cent) I.Q. adolescents. The ascribed socioeconomic status variation is also small, although somewhat more of the white-than of the blue-collar adolescents are rated as

TABLE V-23A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	11	28	22	39	18
Non-Delinquent	57	26	9	8	251
Total	54	26	10	10	269
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	16	31	10	43	97
Non-Delinquent	53	29	10	8	812
Total	49	29	10	12	909
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	50	--	--	50	6
Non-Delinquent	82	9	4	5	79
Total	80	8	35	8	85
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	36	29	14	21	28
Non-Delinquent	72	17	4	8	438
Total	70	18	4	8	466

TABLE V-23A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
			White Females		
			White Collar		
Delinquent	100	--	--	--	1
Non-Delinquent	81	17	2	1	205
Total	81	16	2	1	207
			Blue Collar		
Delinquent	13	38	13	38	16
Non-Delinquent	75	19	3	3	707
Total	73	19	4	4	723
			Negro Females		
			White Collar		
Delinquent	--	100	--	--	1
Non-Delinquent	79	14	1	5	77
Total	78	15	13	5	78
			Blue Collar		
Delinquent	43	33	--	24	21
Non-Delinquent	79	15	3	4	463
Total	77	16	3	4	484

TABLE V-23A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Middle I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	38	20	10	33	40
Non-Delinquent	72	19	7	3	1177
Total	70	19	7	4	1217
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	39	18	11	32	136
Non-Delinquent	67	21	8	4	1866
Total	65	21	8	6	2002
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	75	25	--	--	4
Non-Delinquent	87	10	2	2	60
Total	86	11	2	2	64
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	55	15	10	20	20
Non-Delinquent	81	13	3	2	215
Total	79	13	4	4	235

TABLE V-23A: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Middle I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Females				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	29	43	29	--	7
Non-Delinquent	88	9	1	1	1201
Total	88	10	2	1	1208
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	44	27	9	21	34
Non-Delinquent	85	11	2	2	2295
Total	85	11	2	2	2329
	Negro Females				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	95	3	2	--	92
Total	95	3	2	--	92
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	50	38	--	13	8
Non-Delinquent	90	7	2	2	405
Total	89	8	2	2	413

TABLE V-23A : — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	High I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	50	15	10	25	20
Non-Delinquent	82	12	4	2	1035
Total	82	12	4	3	1055
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	35	35	13	32	23
Non-Delinquent	78	14	6	2	618
Total	77	14	6	3	641
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	100	—	—	—	1
Non-Delinquent	100	—	—	—	18
Total	100	—	—	—	19
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	—	—	—	100	1
Non-Delinquent	89	7	4	—	27
Total	86	7	4	4	28

TABLE V-23A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	High I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Females				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	75	--	--	25	4
Non-Delinquent	94	4	1	0	1197
Total	94	4	1	1	1201
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	67	33	--	--	6
Non-Delinquent	92	6	1	1	764
Total	92	6	1	1	770
	Negro Females				
	White Collar				
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	96	4	--	--	25
Total	96	4	--	--	25
	Blue Collar				
Delinquent	--	--	--	--	--
Non-Delinquent	98	3	--	--	40
Total	98	3	--	--	40

conformers. From these zero order relationships we would expect that white boys of blue-collar origin and who test low I.Q. are least likely to be rated as conforming adolescents. This is the case as only 49 per cent of these boys tabulated in Table V-23 were rated as conformers. They are significantly less often rated as conformers than adolescents in all other subgroups other than the subgroup of white boys who test low I.Q. and come from white-collar origins. It is surprising to learn that low I.Q. white boys are significantly less often rated as conformers, regardless of their status origin than are Negro boys or white and Negro girls in any subgroup of Table V-23. We also would expect that the Negro girl of high I.Q. and white-collar origin is most likely to be rated as a conformer. While 96 per cent of these girls are rated as conformers over 90 per cent of all high I.Q. white and Negro girls are rated as conformers as are 100 per cent of the 19 white-collar, high I.Q. Negro boys and 95 per cent of the middle I.Q., white-collar, Negro girls. A high I.Q. test score, particularly for girls, is associated with conformity, at least so far as the ratings of teachers are concerned.

One would expect of course that teachers would be far less likely to rate "known" truants and delinquents as conformers than they would adolescents who do not have a juvenile court record. Many teachers of course will not know that a boy "has a record" at the court though most will be aware of truancy. It is not surprising therefore that about twice as many of the conformers (78 per cent) as of the truants (41 per cent) and the delinquents (only 34 per cent) were rated as conformers. It is somewhat more surprising that as many deviators are rated as conformers as we observe in Table V-21. The fact that deviators are less likely to be rated as conformers than are behavioral conformers in Tables V-23A and B is independent of the race, sex, I.Q. and ascribed socio-economic status position of the adolescent (significant at .05 level for sign test). The differences in most cases are large and show no attenuation in the partial analysis subgroups.

There are three categories of deviator to which nonconforming adolescents were rated or assigned in our classification. The poorly motivated student is the "underachiever" in a scholastic sense, the school behavior problem is the one who represents a disciplinary problem to teachers and school administrators, while the troublemaker presents a problem not only to these people but potentially to persons in the larger community as well. The second largest rated group of adolescents by teacher rating were poorly motivated students (15 per cent). Let us see how they are distributed in the social structure. There is only a very small race difference but almost twice as many boys (19 per cent) as girls (10 per cent) were rated as poorly motivated. And a much larger proportion of the low (21 per cent) than of the high (8 per cent) I.Q. adolescents were rated as poorly motivated. The socioeconomic status difference is small with only slightly more of the blue- than of the white-collar adolescents rated as poorly motivated. Still the low I.Q., blue-collar, boy should be the most likely to be rated a poorly motivated student and 29 per cent of these boys are tabulated in Table V-23 as poorly motivated; but, 26 per cent of the low I.Q. white-collar, white boys also are rated as poorly motivated. If one is a white boy and has a low I.Q. test score one is more likely to be "pegged" by the teacher as a poorly motivated student. Still it must be remembered that only somewhat over a fourth of the low I.Q. white boys are seen as "poorly motivated." It may be a moot point whether these boys are more "poorly motivated" than "poorly equipped" both in terms of basic ability and past learning experiences to learn in the classroom. Their motivation is more likely to decrease in either case.

The high I.Q. white-collar girl should least often be classified as poorly motivated. And, the percentage of these girls rated as poorly motivated is very low. But it does not differ significantly from the proportion of high I.Q. white-collar Negro boys, or for that matter of blue-collar high I.Q. girls or Negro boys. I.Q. in general seems the more important of these factors in determining whether one is to be rated as poorly motivated. We can see by inspection of Table V-23 that low I.Q. adolescents are more likely to be rated as poorly motivated students than are high I.Q. adolescents. It would be interesting to have a measure of scholastic motivation independent of that of the teacher's rating to see whether this differential perception of motivation is an accurate one.

Truant and delinquent deviators are roughly twice as likely to be seen as poorly motivated students as are conformers. Still this means that only a little over one-fourth of them are classified as poorly motivated. For delinquent deviator-conformer comparisons, the relationship appears independent of the race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status of the adolescent, though there appears to be considerable attenuation in some subgroups. For truant-conformer comparisons, the relationship is a substantial one for white but not Negro adolescents. Scholastic motivation should of course be more of a factor in truancy than in delinquency.

We shall discuss the structural variation in the rating of school behavior problem and troublemaker deviators at the same time since their pattern of variation is quite similar. In general we shall examine the pattern for the "troublemakers" however since this class includes all who are rated as troublemakers. There is almost no race variation in rating boys as school and community disciplinary or troublemaker problem adolescents. Boys are more likely than girls and low I.Q. than high I.Q. to be rated in both categories of deviator. But while twice as many blue- as white-collars are rate as troublemakers, the socioeconomic status difference is only a small one for the school behavior

TABLE V-23B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	20	60	0	20	5
Not Truant	55	25	10	9	266
Total	55	26	10	10	271
	Blue Collar				
Truant	26	32	17	26	78
Not Truant	51	29	10	10	833
Total	49	29	10	11	911
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	50	25	25	0	4
Not Truant	83	8	3	8	80
Total	81	8	4	7	84
	Blue Collar				
Truant	46	27	8	19	26
Not Truant	68	19	4	8	410
Total	67	20	5	9	436

TABLE V-23B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	0	100	0	0	1
Not Truant	82	16	2	1	205
Total	81	16	2	1	206
	Blue Collar				
Truant	53	25	8	14	36
Not Truant	74	19	3	4	687
Total	73	19	4	4	723
	Negro Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	0	0	100	0	1
Not Truant	78	15	1	5	78
Total	77	15	3	5	79
	Blue Collar				
Truant	43	36	0	21	14
Not Truant	78	15	3	4	470
Total	77	16	3	4	484

TABLE V-23B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	43	29	14	14	14
Not Truant	71	19	7	4	1211
Total	70	19	7	4	1225
	Blue Collar				
Truant	36	25	9	31	81
Not Truant	67	21	8	5	1927
Total	65	21	8	6	2008
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	50	50	0	0	2
Not Truant	87	10	2	2	62
Total	86	11	2	2	64
	Blue Collar				
Truant	67	11	0	22	9
Not Truant	79	14	4	3	228
Total	79	14	4	4	237

TABLE V-23B -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Middle I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	57	21	14	7	14
Not Truant	88	9	1	1	1187
Total	88	10	2	1	1201
	Blue Collar				
Truant	49	32	9	9	53
Not Truant	85	11	2	2	2260
Total	85	11	2	2	2313
	Negro Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	0	0	100	0	2
Not Truant	94	3	2	0	90
Total	92	3	4	0	92
	Blue Collar				
Truant	67	33	0	0	9
Not Truant	89	7	2	2	404
Total	89	8	2	2	413

TABLE V-23B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	67	33	0	0	3
Not Truant	82	12	4	3	1056
Total	82	12	4	3	1059
	Blue Collar				
Truant	50	10	10	30	10
Not Truant	77	14	6	3	637
Total	77	14	6	3	647
	Negro Males				
	White Collar				
Truant	--	--	--	--	--
Not Truant	100	0	0	0	18
Total	100	0	0	0	18
	Blue Collar				
Truant	100	0	0	0	1
Not Truant	85	7	4	4	27
Total	86	7	4	4	28

TABLE V-23B: -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BY TEACHER RATING OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING BEHAVIOR, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	High I.Q.				
	Conforming in Community	Poorly Motivated in School	School Behavior Problem	Troublemaker in Community	Total
	White Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	67	0	0	33	6
Not Truant	94	4	1	0	1186
Total	94	4	1	1	1192
	Blue Collar				
Truant	67	22	0	11	9
Not Truant	93	6	1	1	753
Total	92	6	1	1	762
	Negro Females				
	White Collar				
Truant	—	—	—	—	—
Not Truant	96	4	0	0	25
Total	96	4	0	0	25
	Blue Collar				
Truant	100	0	0	0	1
Not Truant	97	3	0	0	39
Total	98	3	0	0	40

problem cases. We would expect therefore that boys who test low I.Q. and are of blue-collar origin should most likely be rated as discipline and troublemaker problems. Again, it is the low rather than the high I.Q. boy and white rather than Negro boy, regardless of status, who is most likely to get such ratings. Somehow the teacher is more likely to perceive the low I.Q. subject, particularly if it is a boy, as the problem child in conforming to the norms of school and community. It may not be so difficult to understand why this is the case. The teacher has after all the task of teaching children how to learn and to acquire knowledge. This is a most difficult task when the child has a low I.Q. For the low I.Q. child the requirements are necessarily more onerous--it is after all more difficult for the low than the high I.Q. child to fulfill the classroom requirements, particularly if the child perceives no difference in the obligation. Under these circumstances failure is more often experienced and motivation is more likely to fall with repeated failure. Low motivation coupled with repeated failure is more likely to lead one to seek other sources of satisfaction--goals which the teacher is more likely to frustrate in the classroom and the school; such frustration then is more likely to lead toward aggression toward school people and the community targets. Or, looked at another way the low I.Q. child may learn to defend himself against the "unequal" competition by failure and aggressive behavior. Then "one doesn't do as well" because "one hasn't done what is necessary to be rewarded" and not because one "can't even if one tried hard." But why boys more than girls? There may be several reasons for this difference. Boys are more likely to openly express their frustrations than are girls while girls are more likely to receive substitute rewards from teachers than are boys. Girls more often identify with the teacher as a person. But it also may be due to the fact that greater pressure is placed on the boy in our society to succeed, and he is more likely to respond to such pressures in ways which lead teachers and school officials to view the child as a discipline problem or as a potential troublemaker. Of course, the actual behavior variation is far from perfectly correlated with these rated behaviors so far as we know.

The fact that low I.Q. adolescents, regardless of status, are more likely to be rated as school and community behavior problem cases suggests then that teachers are more responsive to the I.Q. than to the ascribed status of the child. Of course these ratings occur in a school prestige structure so that a teacher's ratings are relative to the ascribed socioeconomic status composition of the school, and differences may partly be due to this fact. Observation of disciplinary cases in schools suggests to us that what is tolerated in a lower prestige school becomes a "serious" problem in an Upper status school and vice versa. This relativity of perception makes it more difficult, of course, to interpret the findings in respect to teacher ratings.

Our final measure of performance in school is participation in extracurricular organizations in the school. The American school places high valuation on participation in extracurricular activities whether in athletic competition or in the many interest clubs which it recognizes. The "best" students in most schools are generally those who are "leaders" in extracurricular as well as curricular activities. This "diversified achiever" wins the major recognition in many, though not all, schools. Within the adolescent peer society[15] participation in extracurricular activities (including athletic activities) confers participation and organization of young persons is a ubiquitous aspect of American Society.

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[15] N.B.: The term "peer society" is used in this report as a term distinct from that of "peer culture." The "peer society" is the organized set of relations among adolescents. These organized relationships may largely reflect the culture of the larger society including that of the school as the specialized organization for adolescents. There may be little if any "culture" common only to the adolescents. An adolescent "peer culture" implies that there is somehow a distinctive culture shared among all adolescents. There is reason to suspect that there is a shared adolescent culture in American Society. But age-graded

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status.

There are many kinds of school sponsored organizations for adolescents in our society. Not every school has all or even most of these organizations. Junior high schools generally will have fewer opportunities for participation than will senior high schools, urban more than rural ones, high prestige more than low prestige schools, and so on. The opportunity to participate in any organization therefore varies from school to school so that this is an uncontrolled source of variation in our comparisons. Furthermore there is considerable variation by the type of extracurricular activity; for example one would expect differences among participants in athletic activity, the honor society, the hobby clubs (photography or philately), the special interest academic clubs (language or science clubs) and the speech or dramatic clubs. But this source of variation also is ignored in our comparisons. In fact, we have a very crude measure of participation, viz., the number of school organizations in which the adolescent is a member and we shall examine differential participation in number of school organizations.

About half of our population either was a member of one organization only or, none at all. More Negroes than whites, boys than girls, low than high I.Q. and blue- than white-collar adolescents are characterized by this "lower" rate of participation. If we think of membership in one or no organizations as a relatively low rate of participation then we would expect that Negro boys with low I.Q.'s and of blue-collar orgin would have the highest proportion of low participators. This is not the case since the race difference is a spurious one. Actually we observe in Table V-24 that three-fourths of all low I.Q., blue-collar, white boys belong to only one or no organizations, for the highest subgroup

TABLE V-24A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BELONGING TO ONE OR NO EXTRACURRICULAR ORGANIZATIONS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Delinquency	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
Classification	0 or 1	Total	0 or 1	Total	0 or 1	Total
			White Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	71	17	60	42	20	20
Non-Delinquent	59	240	51	1174	39	1069
Total	60	257	51	1216	39	1089
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	81	94	73	137	56	25
Non-Delinquent	74	772	61	1833	51	628
Total	75	866	62	1970	52	653
			Negro Males			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	67	6	100	4	0	1
Non-Delinquent	58	77	55	60	28	18
Total	59	83	58	64	28	19
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	80	30	80	20	100	1
Non-Delinquent	67	421	65	214	54	28
Total	67	451	66	234	55	29

TABLE V-24A : -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS BELONGING TO ONE OR NO EXTRACURRICULAR ORGANIZATIONS: WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Delinquency Classification	Low I.Q.		Middle I.Q.		High I.Q.	
	0 or 1	Total	0 or 1	Total	0 or 1	Total
			White Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	—	1	43	7	67	3
Non-Delinquent	55	207	37	1211	28	1218
Total	55	208	37	1218	28	1221
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	81	16	84	32	50	6
Non-Delinquent	68	709	50	2297	39	783
Total	68	725	50	2329	39	789
			Negro Females			
			White Collar			
Delinquent	33	3	—	—	—	—
Non-Delinquent	56	78	47	95	28	25
Total	56	81	47	95	28	25
			Blue Collar			
Delinquent	53	15	57	7	—	—
Non-Delinquent	64	460	53	416	51	41
Total	64	475	53	423	51	41

TABLE V-24b -- NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BELONGING TO ONE OR NO AND SIX OR MORE SCHOOL EXTRACURRICULAR ORGANIZATIONS, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	0 or 1	6 or More	Total	0 or 1	6 or More	Total	0 or 1	6 or More	Total
	White Males								
	White Collar								
Truant	100	0	4	71	0	14	50	25	4
Not Truant	59	6	252	51	9	1201	39	13	1086
Total	60	6	256	51	9	1215	39	13	1090
	Blue Collar								
Truant	91	3	65	84	3	77	70	0	10
Not Truant	73	4	798	61	6	1892	52	9	646
Total	75	4	863	62	6	1969	52	9	656
	Negro Males								
	White Collar								
Truant	100	0	2	100	0	2	—	—	—
Not Truant	58	9	81	58	3	62	22	22	18
Total	59	8	83	59	3	64	22	22	18
	Blue Collar								
Truant	89	0	26	100	0	9	—	—	—
Not Truant	67	5	396	65	5	227	55	—	29
Total	68	5	422	66	5	236	55	—	29

TABLE V-21gb — NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TRUANTS AND NON TRUANTS BELONGING TO ONE OR NO AND SIX OR MORE SCHOOL EXTRACURRICULAR ORGANIZATIONS, WITH RACE, SEX, I.Q. AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS CONTROLS (continued)

Truancy Classification	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	0 or 1	6 or More	Total	0 or 1	6 or More	Total	0 or 1	6 or More	Total
				White Females					
				White Collar					
Truant	--	--	--	57	21	14	50	17	6
Not Truant	55	5	207	36	10	1198	28	15	1205
Total	55	5	207	37	10	1212	28	15	1211
				Blue Collar					
Truant	70	6	33	69	2	52	67	11	9
Not Truant	68	3	692	49	7	2263	39	11	771
Total	68	3	725	50	7	2315	39	11	780
				Negro Females					
				White Collar					
Truant	0	0	1	100	0	3	--	--	--
Not Truant	56	8	78	46	8	91	28	32	25
Total	56	8	79	48	7	94	28	32	25
				Blue Collar					
Truant	43	0	7	100	0	6	100	0	1
Not Truant	64	3	455	52	7	410	50	5	40
Total	64	3	462	53	7	416	51	5	41

proportion of low participators. The highest subgroup rates of participation are found for high I.Q., white-collar girls and Negro boys with only 28 per cent of these adolescents belonging to only one or no organizations. The socioeconomic status difference persists in each I.Q. group and the I.Q. difference persists within each socioeconomic status group indicating that both I.Q., and socioeconomic status are factors affecting participation. The race and sex differences appear to be spurious however when the other factors are taken into account.

Truant and delinquent deviators in general are less integrated into any school. It is not surprising therefore that they are more likely to have a lower rate of participation in school activities than are conformers (See Table V-21). This relationship holds for white but not Negro adolescents and it is independent of their sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status. Among Negroes, it holds for boys but not girls. (See Table V-24).

Looking at our performance in school measures, an interesting inference can be drawn from the data. And that is, the high I.Q. white-collar, Negro boy is more like the high I.Q., white-collar, girl than he is like the high I.Q., white-collar, white boy. This is essentially the case for his reading skill, his participation in school organizations and the extent to which teachers view him as a conformer. There are a number of tempting speculations one can offer for this finding. They are based on the valued status of educational achievement in Negro society, the matriarchal character of the Negro family, and Negro society pressures on the talented to succeed. The Negro boy of high I.Q. from white-collar origin is potentially a most valued person in Negro society and under very strong pressure to succeed in school. Negro teachers are more likely to treat him as a "scarce resource" than are white teachers to treat white boys with comparable qualifications as a "scarce resource." He therefore is under strong pressure to succeed academically and to participate in the school and its activities. He does so. But in so doing his participation becomes more like that of the white girl in the white school, at least in a southern city with a segregated school system.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter reports the investigation of the effects of social position on the educational and vocational goals of conformers and of truant and delinquent deviators, and the effect of life circumstances on deviation from school attendance and of person-property norms.

Examining the effect of life circumstances on the risk of being classified as a delinquent by the juvenile court, we found that being young and of high ascribed socioeconomic status brings the greatest "protection" from such an unfavorable definition. Looked at in terms of etiology, we would conclude that age and ascribed socioeconomic status are important structural features of delinquency. There also is a strong relationship between I.Q. and rate of delinquency independent of ascribed socioeconomic status with low I.Q. adolescents generally having a greater risk of being classified as a delinquent. The effect of the prestige context on the rate of delinquency is great for both the low and the high status boy. The prestige of the context virtually eliminates the risk of being a delinquent of record in a juvenile court for low status boys in high status contexts but, it greatly increases the risk for a low status boy in the lowest prestige context. For high status boys, the risk is substantially greater in low than in high prestige contexts.

The question of how adolescents in our society perceive the cultural expectations with respect to educational achievement was investigated. We find that in general, the greater the probability that one will go to collge, the more likely one is to prescribe this as the norm for "most people" in our society. There is only a small difference between deviators and conformers in the perception of how much education most people ought to get in our society. Looking at the importance of getting an education to adolescents, we find that it is an anomaly of our society that the adolescent subgroup which is least likely to go to college (low I.Q., blue-collar, Negro girls) places the highest valuation on going to school while that group which is most likely to go to college (high I.Q., white-collar, white boys) places the lowest exclusive value on schooling. The differences between truant and delinquent deviators and conformers in the value placed on schooling tend to disappear when the race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status composition of the populations are controlled.

We explored next the specific educational and vocational goals which adolescents viewed as held by their mothers and themselves. Educational attainment expectations are extremely high for both the adolescent and the adolescent's perception of mother's expectations. There is a considerable range however by structural position of the adolescent--from 89 per cent of all high I.Q., white boys of white-collar origins seeing their mother as wanting them to go to college to only 13 per cent of all blue-collar, low I.Q., white girls seeing their mother holding a college expectation of attainment for them. The relationship is roughly the same for subject's own aspirations as it is for perception of mother's expectations.

Examining structural effects on selection of an occupation goal, we find that as for educational attainment, there is a general tendency among boys to be oriented toward occupational goals which will require them to be upwardly mobile and to get a college education. Only the low I.Q., blue-collar boy in our society is very likely to accept the manual occupations of his blue-collar origins. Even for them there is a tendency to select the higher prestige blue-collar occupations. High I.Q. boys, regardless of socioeconomic status origins are oriented toward the white-collar occupations.

The desire to quit school affects to some extent the educational attainment of adolescents. We therefore explored their attitudes toward quitting school. White boys of low I.Q. and blue-collar origins are most desirous of quitting school while high I.Q., Negro girls of white-collar origins are least likely to want to quit school. Truant and delinquent deviators regardless of sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status are more likely to want to quit school than are conformers. Since school attendance is compulsory in our society, up to a given age at least, we tried to learn to what degree the desire to quit school is related to a feeling that one is compelled to attend. From the standpoint of predicting rebellion against the norm of compulsory school attendance, the highest proportion of adolescents with a strong desire to quit school because of a feeling of being coerced to attend occurs in the subgroup with the highest rates of truant and delinquent deviation--the low I.Q., blue-collar, white boys. We investigated too, the extent to which adolescents might want to quit school for a preferred conforming goal, that of going to work in a full time job. We find that the subgroup most vulnerable to truant and delinquent deviation comes closest to endorsing as a norm: "work is to be preferred to schooling." Truant and delinquent deviators regardless of their sex, I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status are more likely than conformers to want to quit school and go to work.

Finally, we investigated the academic, deportment and extracurricular performance of adolescents in the school to learn whether their position in the social structure had any effect on their performance. I.Q. and ascribed socioeconomic status are powerful determinants of reading achievement as measured by the Stanford Achievement reading test, a teacher rating of student motivation and deportment in school and the community, and by degree of participation in extracurricular activities of the school. The more important of these factors appears to be I.Q. however. Just why I.Q. should be the more powerful factor in determining performance in such fairly diverse activities as reading skill, deportment in school and extracurricular participation is not clear. We suggest however that this may be related to the fact that the school rewards the high more than the low I.Q. person as well as to any attributes of "basic ability."

Chapter VI

Internal and External Controls as Factors in Conduct

Conformers to social norms are expected to show greater internalization and acceptance of norms than are deviators. From the standpoint of the goals pursued in socialization of the child, deviation can be seen as a failure in the socialization process, a failure in getting children to internalize norms either in a conscience or in a rational acceptance of norms as guides to behavior. Failure in the socialization process is always a failure in social control as well. From the perspective of the social system, deviation can be seen as a failure to control the behavior of individuals in social situations in conformity with the norms. The mechanisms of social control in some sense fail.

Internalization of Conduct Norms and Conforming Behavior. The literature on behavioral deviation from conduct norms emphasizes the importance of the internalization of norms in order to insure conforming behavior. One way of viewing behavioral deviation from conduct norms is to see it as a consequence of the failure of *both* personal and social controls.[1] An individual's behavior may therefore depart from the conduct norms of society for one of two major reasons, though usually both operate to produce deviation. Either behavior departs from the norms because a person rejects the norms and the ego perceives of ways of circumventing the internal and external control system or, there is a breakdown in the external control system. Behavior conforms to the norms when a person accepts and/or internalizes the normative standards as binding. These occur through the restraints imposed by the conscience or the ego. Conformity is reenforced by the external system of controls. And, some conformity can be insured solely with a system of external constraints.

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[1] Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Delinquency as the Failure of Personal and Social Controls," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April, 1951) pp. 196-207.

In almost all cases of behavioral deviation, of course, both internal and external controls fail to some extent. Thus in understanding the conduct defined as delinquent, one ordinarily would expect to find the boy or girl rejects the conduct norms, or finds ways to neutralize the effects of the internalized standard including ways of utilizing the external situations. At the same time, the pressures of one's peer group, the relative balance of opportunities in the environment, the risk of detection, and other controlling factors in the immediate environment also affect whether the act is undertaken.

The relative importance placed on internalization of norms with ego and conscience control in preference to manipulating external controls follows from the conclusion that internal controls can operate quite effectively to produce conformity even when the external control system is weak. While it is now recognized that internal controls require external reenforcement to remain effective in the long run, they are presumed to be more important in controlling deviation from conduct norms than would be the situation where one has strong external controls only or at least where most members have relatively weak interal control systems. This is not the place to argue the relative merit of one theoretical approach over that of others. Below is presented some investigation of the role which one of these internal control factors may have in producing deviating behavior. Special attention is focused on delinquent deviation.

The model employed below holds that behavioral deviation can be explained only in terms of the equilibrium of internal and external control factors. It thereforemay be a better model for explaining an act of a person than a patterned set of acts of a person. In any case, the investigation of one set of forces--such as that of guilt--would not be expected to provide maximum differentiation among deviators and conformers. The theory in fact would hold that too much as well as too little guilt is a factor in deviation, that guilt can be defended against if group pressures are strong enough, and so on.

From the perspective of social psychological measurement of guilt, guilt attaches to normative situations so that it is difficult to think of guilt solely as a mechanism of control. Whether the mechanism of guilt will be operative in defined types of situations is what should be measured from this perspective. This type of measurement of course, is very difficult to attain since norms and situations vary considerably. One way in which an attempt was made in this study to measure whether or not guilt was a factor in the behavior of conformers and deviators was to present the boys with a situation which they were asked to subjectively define as one in which they did something "you knew was bad." Each of the 1008 boys was told: "Now let's think of a time not long ago when you did something you knew was bad....I don't want you to tell me about it, but just think about it...OK? do you have one now?" Some boys were unable to think of a situation and showed considerable conflict in trying to do so. Their subjective response was interpreted as meaning they had not done much wrong rather than they had done wrong and were lying about it if they said they just couldn't recall having done anything really wrong. When pressed these boys would go back months or even years to select a situation, but they denied wrong-doing "recently." Some of these boys undoubtedly were not telling the truth as other evidence indicated, but they nonetheless are coded "never done wrong" in Table VI-1, and as "Conscience prevents" in Table VI-2, since all of these boys said they didn't do wrong because they know theyshouldn't do things that are wrong and would feel bad about it if they committed a wrong. This response could be considered a combination of ego and superego controls operating since it is difficult to separate the two in a response of this type.

TABLE VI-4: -- TYPE OF GUILT SITUATION BY TYPE OF CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Guilt Situation	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquents	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Against Parents	6.1	7.2	22.7	8.7	16.0	16.3	25.7	33.3	--	17.4	17.2
Small Boy Delinq. Act	--	--	0.9	4.3	--	2.3	--	3.3	--	4.4	1.1
Recent Delinq. Act	73.5	55.4	35.4	30.4	44.0	58.1	27.0	16.7	60.0	8.7	42.4
Truancy	6.1	1.2	4.5	--	4.0	2.3	1.3	--	10.0	--	2.8
Sex Relations With Girl	2.0	6.0	0.9	--	12.0	2.3	--	--	--	--	2.4
Cheat/Lie	--	1.2	1.8	--	4.0	--	2.7	--	--	--	1.3
Never Done Wrong	8.2	26.5	26.3	30.4	16.0	16.3	23.0	23.3	20.0	39.1	23.2
All Other, Inc. Accid. Inj.	4.1	2.4	7.3	26.1	4.0	2.3	20.3	23.3	10.0	8.7	9.7
Subtotal	49	83	110	23	25	43	74	30	10	18	465
No Info.	--	0.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	4.2	--	0.2
Yes, But Sit. Unspecified	32.9	49.4	66.0	71.6	34.2	50.0	61.7	46.4	54.1	56.1	53.7

TABLE VI-2: -- GUILT RESPONSE REPORTED FOR RECENT WRONG COMMITTED, BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Guilt Response To Wrong Doing	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquents	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	163	247	81	38	86	192	56	24	41	1001
Conscience Prevents	5.5	13.5	11.7	8.7	10.5	7.0	8.3	12.5	8.3	22.0	10.6
Conscience Punishes	1.4	6.8	7.7	4.9	15.8	7.0	6.8	12.5	4.2	4.9	7.0
Rectify Wrongs	8.2	18.4	32.4	48.1	18.4	26.7	42.7	55.4	33.3	39.0	32.2
Self Consequences	47.9	42.3	39.7	35.8	47.4	51.2	35.9	16.1	41.7	26.8	39.2
No Worry	37.0	19.0	8.5	2.5	7.9	8.1	6.3	3.5	12.5	7.3	11.0

For all boys who made a response that they were thinking about a situation, they were first asked: "Did you worry much after you had done it?" Those who said they didn't were coded "no worry." For those who said that they did worry about it, the question was asked, "What bothered you most about it" or "what worried you about it?" Four major types of response were elicited from this query.

(1) Consequences to Self from Others: "I was scared the police would find out," "That someone would tell," "That I'd get caught," "That my daddy'd find out," "That I'd get into trouble," and so on.

The important factor in this type of response is the complete absence of concern about having done moral wrong. The worry or concern is over what might happen to oneself—about what one has done—rather than about what wrong has been done. This is thought of as an instrumentally oriented type of response.

(2) Rectify Wrongs Committed: "What I might do to make things right again," "I wanted to apologize," "I wanted to get things the way they were before," "What might happen to her," and so on.

Here the ego is appraising the situation, making an attempt to see how a moral wrong might be rectified and, the person accepts responsibility for the wrong.

(3) Conscience Punishes for Wrongdoing: "I knew that I'd done something wrong and I was bothered by it," "I'd disobeyed my parents and it kept bothering me," "My conscience," and so on.

The main emphasis here is the discomfort experienced from the conscience in having done wrong and, they are aware of their wrong because of the conscience anxiety.

(4) Conscience Prevents me from Doing Wrong: "I can't think of anything I've done wrong," "I always try to do what's right," "I ain't done nothin' wrong in a long time cause I know its wrong," and so on.

Technically of course the ego is appraising the conscience here. It is assumed however that the strength of the conscience is an important factor in the appraisal.

In Chapter VII, ten major types of conformers and deviators are described.

Table VI-1 shows the type of guilt situation which these conforming-deviating types of boys acknowledged they were thinking about when asked, "Do you mind telling me what it was you were thinking about?" Over half of the boys were not asked this subquestion, but the table shows that except for the fact that the delinquent types were more often asked this question than were boys in other conforming-deviating types, there is little difference in the proportion within subtypes who were asked this question. Of those asked the question, it can be seen that the delinquent subtypes (including Nonconforming Isolates) were most likely to report a recent act of delinquency. Overall, two-fifths of all boys selected a recent act of delinquency as the thing that worried them. This was true for only one of the Conforming Isolates (8.7 per cent) however but almost three-fourths of the Career-Oriented delinquents.

Table VI-2 shows the type of guilt response to the wrong committed for each of the conforming-deviating subtypes. To some extent one should bear in mind the results of Table VI-1 showing the type of wrong committed. Since there appears to be variation in the "seriousness" of what was defined as the wrong that worried them, this variation may enter into Table VI-2 as well.

There is considerable concern about self-consequences on the part of boys who commit wrong. Among the four major delinquent subtypes and the Conforming Nonachievers, it accounts for two of every five boys. Only the Conforming Isolates and the Hyperconformers have significantly lower rates of concern about self-consequences than do boys in other subgroups. Only a relatively small proportion of boys in most subtypes say they didn't worry about their wrong doing but it amounted to almost two of every five Career Oriented delinquents. Hyperconformers, Conforming Isolates and Conforming Achievers on the average seem most concerned with rectifying wrongs. Among delinquents, the punitive aspects of conscience seems more often a basis of worry for middle than lower status delinquents. Hyperconformers also seem to get to report a punitive conscience more than boys in other subtypes.

If one looks at the guilt response for each type of conforming-deviating subtype, certain syndromes emerge, though there is no clear cut differentiation of one type from another.

(1) Career Oriented delinquents seem to be least affected by the demands of a strict conscience. Thirty seven per cent of them said they did not worry and another 18 per cent worried only about self consequences. Only one per cent of them said their conscience punished them for wrong doing. The five per cent which said their conscience prevented them from wrong-doing appear to be lying about their wrong doing. Over eight of every 10 Career Oriented delinquents then seem to show little if any preoccupation with guilt over their wrong doing. No other type of conformer or deviator on the average shows this pattern. These boys fit more the clinical picture of the "psychopath."

(2) The middle status Peer Oriented delinquents and the lower status Peer Oriented delinquents both show a relatively high proportion worrying solely about self-consequences. However the punitive conscience is more likely to be a factor causing concern for the middle than the lower status Peer Oriented delinquent. On the average, these boys are more likely to show more concern with moral wrong and a sense of guilt than is the lower status Career Oriented delinquent.

(3) Hyperconformers are least likely to worry about consequences to the self and most likely to concern themselves with how they may rectify wrongs. This is an interesting finding if it were to hold in the clinical sense that among most hyperconformers the conscience does not function primarily as a "negative" punitive mechanism but that the ego is able to function so as to focus concern on restitution. The possibility remains of course that hyperconformers worry more about how to make things right again because their standards

of restitution are exceedingly high or their conscience will not easily allow them to escape its punishment through acts of restitution.

(h) Conventional conformers to a substantial degree show a concern for self consequences. Among conventional conformers, the middle status Conforming Nonachievers seem most likely to show such concern.

While no definitive conclusions can be reached from an analysis of Table VI-2, there is some evidence then that the member of an organized Career Oriented delinquent gang is generally free from a sense of doing a moral wrong. The wrong either just doesn't worry him or he doesn't worry (or experience guilt about what wrong he has done) except about consequences for he is unwilling to accept not only the moral consequences which follow from his wrongdoing but the social sanctions as well. One gets the impression that these boys are primarily instrumental in their relations toward the world. While these boys can recognize the difference between right and wrong, they do not accept moral responsibility for their wrongdoing--whether that sense of moral responsibility shows itself in the form of the pangs of guilt or whether it manifests itself in a responsibility to rectify wrongs one has committed. In dealing with these boys therefore, one must recognize the essentially instrumental orientation toward doing wrong. One must either utilize techniques which will develop moral responsibility for actions or one is left with techniques of control which are effective in controlling instrumentally oriented boys.

Attempts were further made to measure the relationship between both the perception of one's behavior as moral and awareness of feelings of guilt when wrongs are committed and the general pattern of conduct as conforming or deviating. A fourfold classification of conforming-deviating conduct was devised for these tests. All boys with a known record of truant or delinquent deviation were classified as Deviant Record. In Chapter II, the Guttman Quasi-Scale of Conforming-Deviating Behavior was presented. There are eight scale types in the scale. The most extreme scale type consists of those respondents who rated themselves as "often break laws." They are called Self-Reported Deviators. Those respondents who agreed with either one or both of the items that they would get someone who was older to stop friends from committing an act against the law and that they had perfect attendance at Sunday School are called Hyper-conformers. Respondents in all other scale types are called Conventional Conformers. It perhaps should be pointed out here that the scale type of Self-reported Deviators has relatively questionable validity when all known violators are classified separately in the Deviant Record class. Almost one-fourth of the respondents with self-reports of "often break laws" are by an independent measure suspected of falsifying information in their questionnaire. This does not mean that they falsified their report of "often break laws." But the marked difference between the known violators and the self-reported deviators suggests that they either are a quite different type of violator, i.e., the undetected violator is very much different from the detected one, or that there are a substantial number of respondents in this group who deviate mainly in their questionnaire behavior. For these reasons, it is difficult to interpret the category Self-reported Deviation in Tables VI-3 and VI-4.

The question, "How sinful would you say you are? more sinful than most people, about as sinful, or less sinful" is used here as a measure of the extent to which adolescents perceive themselves as relatively different from their peers in their moral behavior. The exact composition of their reference or membership groups in answering this question is not known. Each respondent is allowed to define "most people." It is assumed that the response "About as sinful as most people" is the expected response of the conventional conformer, while "more sinful" is the response of the deviator and "less sinful" that of the hyperconformer.

TABLE VI-3: — PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS SUBJECTIVELY DEFINING THEIR "SINFULNESS AS MORE, LESS OR ABOUT THE SAME AS THAT OF MOST PEOPLE," BY RACE, SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND GENERAL TYPE OF CONDUCT

Socioeconomic Status & Type of Conduct	White						Negro					
	Boys			Girls			Boys			Girls		
	More	Same	Less	More	Same	Less	More	Same	Less	More	Same	Less
High												
Deviant Record	22	70	8	18	82	--	(25)	(50)	(25)	--	(100)	--
Self-reported deviation	22	75	3	25	65	10	--	--	(100)	--	--	--
Conventional Conformer	8	80	12	5	85	10	2	77	21	4	74	22
Hyperconformer	5	79	16	4	83	13	4	56	40	5	63	32
Subtotal	9	79	12	5	85	10	3	71	26	4	71	25
Middle												
Deviant Record	14	76	10	3	87	10	9	65	26	(13)	(75)	(12)
Self-reported deviation	22	70	8	20	77	3	--	(78)	(22)	--	(67)	(33)
Conventional Conformer	7	81	12	4	84	12	7	69	24	3	63	34
Hyperconformer	5	75	20	3	80	17	10	59	31	5	57	38
Subtotal	8	79	13	3	83	14	8	67	25	4	61	35
Low												
Deviant Record	18	69	13	3	77	20	9	73	18	7	48	45
Self-reported deviation	23	66	11	30	63	7	(11)	(67)	(22)	(17)	(67)	(16)
Conventional Conformer	8	78	14	4	79	17	8	61	31	4	65	31
Hyperconformer	3	75	22	2	73	25	5	60	35	8	54	38
Subtotal	9	76	15	3	77	20	8	62	30			
Total												
Deviant Record	16	73	11	5	82	13	9	71	20	7	56	37
Self-reported deviation	24	68	8	25	69	6	(7)	(69)	(24)	(11)	(67)	(22)
Conventional Conformer	8	79	13	4	83	13	8	65	28	4	65	31
Hyperconformer	4	76	20	3	78	19	7	59	34	7	56	37
Total	9	78	13	4	82	15	8	64	28	5	61	34

( ) Fewer than 20 cases for percentage base.

TABLE VI-4: — PER CENT OF ADOLESCENTS AGREEING "I OFTEN FEEL GUILTY WHEN I'VE DONE SOMETHING WRONG," BY RACE, SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND GENERAL TYPE OF CONDUCT

Socioeconomic Status and Conduct Type	Race and Sex			
	White		Negro	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
High				
Deviant Record	83	91	(80)	(100)
Self-reported deviation	65	65	(100)	—
Conventional Conformer	88	95	87	93
Hyperconformer	95	97	88	92
Subtotal	88	95	87	93
Middle				
Deviant Record	78	89	77	(100)
Self-reported deviation	58	71	(71)	(67)
Conventional Conformer	87	94	85	94
Hyperconformer	93	95	89	96
Subtotal	85	94	85	95
Low				
Deviant Record	75	89	85	100
Self-reported deviation	56	71	(78)	(100)
Conventional Conformer	84	93	86	94
Hyperconformer	90	95	90	95
Subtotal	82	93	86	
Total				
Deviant Record	77	89	82	98
Self-reported deviation	58	70	(79)	(89)
Conventional Conformer	86	94	85	94
Hyperconformer	92	95	89	94
Total	84	94	85	94

( ) Fewer than 30 cases for percentage base.

On the basis of the responses for the adolescent population as a whole, seventy-seven per cent of all adolescents perceive themselves "about as sinful," 17 per cent as "less sinful," and six per cent as "more sinful" than most people. The following distribution shows marked variation in this perception of sinfulness by the type of conforming conduct:

	More sinful	About as sinful	Less sinful
Record as a Deviator	13	74	13
Self-report of deviation	23	68	9
Conventional Conformer	6	79	15
Hyperconformer	4	73	23

In general, deviators are more likely to think of themselves as more sinful than most people than are Conventional Conformers or Hyperconformers. However regardless of one's classification as a conformer or deviator, most adolescents think of themselves "about as sinful as most people." It is suspected that the reason for this is that most adolescents perceive of themselves as behaving like most other people they know behave. The delinquent sees most people as being "about as big a crook as I am" while the hyperconformer sees most people "as good as I am." Yet the small amount of variation observed is in the expected direction. Almost one-fourth of all Hyperconformers do perceive of themselves as better than most people and only 4 per cent of them see themselves as more sinful than most people. Of those with a known deviating record an equal proportion (about 13 per cent) see themselves as more and as less sinful than most people. The self-reported deviators with no known record of truancy or delinquency are most likely to define themselves as more sinful than most people.

There is however some variation by race, sex and socioeconomic status of adolescents. More of the girls than of the boys, of the whites than of the Negroes and of the high than of the low socioeconomic status adolescents rate themselves "about as sinful" as most people. The zero order relationship between conforming type and perception of sinfulness holds within race, sex, and socioeconomic status subgroups.

Table VI-3 presents the zero order relationship for race-sex-socioeconomic status subgroups (a third order partial relationship). Looking at the white male subgroup one can see that high status known violators are more likely than either middle or low status ones to see themselves as more sinful than most people. Low status Hyperconformers are more likely than high status ones to see themselves as less sinful than most people. The interesting relationship somewhat apparent here is that a hyperconforming boy in a status subgroup with a fairly high rate of known deviation is more likely to perceive himself as less sinful than most people than is a boy in a status group with a lower rate of known violators. This relationship does not actually hold for the Negro sex group and the differences are not very large. Correlatively boys with known records of deviation who are in a low status group with a generally high rate of known deviation are less likely to see themselves as more sinful than most people than are boys in the high status group with a lesser rate of known deviation. These differences while not large are in keeping with the notion that one assesses one's behavior relative to the groups within which one comes into contact (membership groups). In most cases these probably are the reference groups as well. In particular, it appears that a deviator is less likely to see himself as deviating if there are substantial members of deviators while hyperconformers are more likely to see themselves as hyperconformers if the rate of deviation is large. The contrast between one's own behavior and that of many others to which one refers one's behavior influences the self conception more when it is a substantial contrast.

A self-assessment of guilt on wrong doing was operationalized with the question: "I often feel guilty when I've done something wrong." Agreement with the statement does not mean of course that one actually feels guilty but, assuming it is a valid response, it may mean that one at least has a self-conception of oneself as feeling guilty when wrong is committed. Almost 9 of every 10 adolescents agree they often feel guilty when they have done something wrong. Is this higher or lower than one would expect? How would one know? If one assumes that guilt is reasonably operative in most human beings then wouldn't one expect that most people would either feel guilty or at least think of themselves as guilty when they had committed a wrong?

Given this very high percentage of all adolescents who think of themselves as feeling guilty when a wrong is committed it is not too surprising that a majority of adolescents in all of four conforming-deviating conduct types perceive themselves as feeling guilty when they do wrong. Yet there is evidence for the expected pattern of variation: 61 per cent of all Self-reported Deviators, 80 per cent of all known violators, 90 per cent of all Conventional Conformers and 94 per cent of all Hyperconformers see themselves as feeling guilty when they have done wrong. More of the girls (94 per cent) than of the boys (85 per cent), see themselves as feeling guilty when they have done wrong, but there is almost no variation by race, age or socioeconomic status. Thus the major differentiating factor of these four factors is sex. Boys are much less likely to acknowledge they feel guilty in wrong doing. Table VI-4 presents the zero order relationship between conforming-deviating conduct type and agreement of feeling guilty on wrong doing for race-sex-socioeconomic subgroups. The zero order relationship between conforming-deviating conduct and "feelings of guilt" generally holds within subgroups so that one can say that except for Negro girls, self-reported deviators are least likely to say they feel guilty and hyperconformers most likely to say they feel guilty on wrongdoing.

The most interesting finding in Table VI-4 occurs with respect to the small but nonetheless perceptible effect which status exercises on the relationship.

For the sake of simplicity of statement, the relationship is discussed for white males only. Among white boys, the low status hyperconformer is less likely to say he often feels guilty when doing wrong than is the high status hyperconformers. The same is true for the deviators. High status deviators are more likely than low status ones to say they often feel guilty when they do wrong. Thus there appears to be a status difference as well as a sex difference when variation by conforming-deviating conduct is examined. Low status hyperconforming boys are less likely than low status hyperconforming girls to say they often feel guilty when doing wrong, but the difference is not as apparent for high status boys and girls, regardless of race. The expected sex difference for known violators holding socioeconomic status constant also appears to hold.

Parental Control and Conforming-Deviating Behavior. In Chapter II several hypotheses about the relationship between conforming and deviating behavior and the nature of parental discipline and control are presented. On the whole, the data in this study do not offer strong support for these hypotheses.

Take for example the hypothesis that deviators are more likely to come from families where the father is the principle disciplinarian than where the mother is the principle disciplinarian. Accepting the adolescent's perception of which parent is the principle disciplinarian and arriving at the following tabulation by type of delinquent deviator for white boys only:

	Parent Perceived as Principle Disciplinarian			
	Mother	Father	Both	Neither
Juvenile Court Record	43	43	4	9
Juvenile Court Truant Record Only	40	46	2	12
Juvenile Court Traffic Record Only	40	47	7	6
No Juvenile Court Record	42	49	5	5
Total	42	49	5	5

While there is a small amount of variation, it is opposite to that which the literature would lead one to expect. If anything, it is suggested that delinquent boys are more likely to see neither parent as the principal disciplinarian but rather that some other member of the household (e.g., grandmother or grandfather) as the principal disciplinarian. All in all the differences are quite small though.

There is somewhat greater variation by the consistency with which the parent is perceived as giving permission for the adolescent to do things. Adolescents were asked: "Do you feel your father (mother) lets you do things at one time which he (she) won't let you do some other time?" The responses permitted were: very often, often, occassionally, seldom and never. This question may serve to some extent as a measure of how consistently a parent holds up a standard of conduct to which conformity is demanded as well as a measure of the consistency with which control is exercised.

The data show that adolescents classified as deviators are somewhat more likely to see their parents as inconsistent than are conforming adolescents. This is true for both mother and father as responses to the question for father illustrate: :

Conduct Classification	Father Seen as Inconsistent				
	Very Often	Often	Occassionally	Seldom	Never
Deviant Record	13	20	39	19	9
Self-reported Deviation	19	16	39	14	12
Conventional Conformer	8	14	47	24	7
Hyperconformer	6	12	45	27	10
Total	8	14	46	24	8

There also is a small sex difference in that more of the girls see their parents as never being inconsistent. The socioeconomic status difference is somewhat larger with twice as many of the low (11 per cent) as of the high (5 per cent) status adolescents saying their father very often is inconsistent by this measure. This difference is apparent within conduct types. Thus, only 3 per cent of all middle status hyperconformers see their father as very often inconsistent while it is 8 per cent of all low status ones. And, while only 9 per cent of all high status persons with deviating records see their fathers as very often inconsistent, it is 16 per cent of all low status ones. Yet over-all, assuming our measure is a valid and reliable one, one cannot but be struck with the fact that most adolescents who are deviators perceive their parents as most adolescents who are conventional conformers or even hyperconformers. That is to say, inconsistency in granting permission to an adolescent accounts for very little of the variation in the general pattern of conforming-deviating conduct.

Summary and Conclusions

There is some evidence that the Career Oriented delinquents in our society are largely instrumental in their orientation toward norms. This has been shown in other chapters in their greater predilection of instrumental means to ends, their orientation toward their own delinquent activity and in this chapter in their general lack of moral concern for their behavior. The Career Oriented delinquent is primarily either unconcerned with what moral wrong he may have committed or he is worried only about the consequences to the self. A separate tabulation in fact shows that most of the career oriented delinquents were worried about getting caught--someone would squeal, the police would find out or, he would get sent to Jordonia if someone knew. This essentially instrumental orientation must be dealt with in any attempt to rehabilitate these boys.

Nonetheless while most conforming boys show some concern about the consequences of their acts which they define as wrong, a surprising proportion of them are also concerned about consequences to the self (about one-third of them) rather than about either rectifying the wrong or about the fact that it was wrong. Although the measures we have used are admittedly crude, still it is surprising that our culture does not seem to place the major concern on how wrongs are to be made right. The idea of restitution, of doing an act to show that one is sorry for the wrong, is probably not a strong cultural requirement. Even our courts emphasize restitution less than punishment and perhaps most parents do the same. Some might argue that part of the difficulty in getting conformity in our society lies in the fact that our process of socialization does not emphasize rectifying wrongs and this is in turn related to the fact that both our cultural norms and our organization of institutions does not place primary emphasis on righting a wrong. The punitive element in our institutions is admittedly powerful. This punitive element would lead a great many adolescents to fear being found out--to fear the consequences of punishment rather than to struggle with the consequences of rectifying wrong.

Most adolescents in American Society think of themselves "about as sinful as most people." Their self conception of themselves therefore might be said to be that of a conventional conformer. A minority of about ten per cent think of themselves as more sinful than most people and a slightly larger proportion think that they are less sinful than most people. There is really very little variation in this percentage by the socioeconomic status position of the adolescent. Similarly, most adolescents think of themselves as feeling guilty when they do something wrong. One gets the impression that most adolescents think of themselves as doing some wrong and then feeling guilty about it but that this makes them about like most other boys and girls they know. Whether or not there actually are differences among the socioeconomic status groups in their conformity or deviation from social norms, boys and girls who differ in status on the average do not perceive of themselves as being different.

Chapter VII

The Relationship Between Grades, Achievement Level, Intelligence Quotient, Socioeconomic Status and Social Status Context

Statement of the problem. The general problem is to examine how school achievement and academic grades are related to each other and how this relationship is affected by "native" intelligence, socioeconomic status, and the social climate in which students achieve and are graded. August Hollingshead, Robert Havighurst, Allison Davis, and others have shown that measurements of intelligence and performance in school is related to position in the social structure.[1] These studies present evidence that "working-class" students do less well than middle-status students and that this variation is due to the disadvantage which working class students face when they compete with middle-status students in school systems which are predominantly middle status. Another explanation of the unfavorable comparison with respect to grades hinges on the assumption that the teachers are largely recruited from the middle classes and hence they apply middle-class standards to lower status children. The argument is that lower status children do poorly in school and that what little they do accomplish is further devaluated by invidious comparison with middle-class students.

Now then, it has been shown that lower class values about getting a good education plus lack of cultural resources and verbal facility in the home serve to decrease both the motivation and the ability to do well in school. On the other hand, it might be argued that the school itself is a milieu which exposes the lower status student to positive as well as negative valuation of schooling.

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[1] Abrahamson, Stephen, "School Rewards and Social Class Status," Educational Research Bulletin 31 (1952) 8-15 p. 237; Davis, Allison, Social Class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1948); Hollingshead, August B., Elmtown's Youth (New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949).

If one makes the assumption that peers have strong influence on attitudes, motivations and behavior then it follows that "blue-collar" subjects in "white-collar" high schools will do better than their counterparts in "blue-collar" high schools, all other things being equal. Conversely, "white-collar" subjects in "blue-collar" high schools will do less well than their counterparts in "white-collar" high schools, all other things being equal. Data presented in Chapter IV indicate that this may be true. However, there are several ways of looking at how "well" students do in school. One of these is assessment of achievement level by means of standardized tests; another is the teacher's evaluation of student's effort in terms of grades. Both of these may be compared with a generalized measure of intelligence which is as good an approximation of "native" ability as any presently available. The results reported in Chapter IV suggest that native intelligence, achievement level, and performance grade do not jibe. Therefore, the general problem to be dealt with in this chapter centers on explanation of this discrepancy.

Hypotheses. It has long been a "common sense" observation that girls receive higher grades than boys in high school and grade school. Both the sociologist and the man on the street would probably predict that girls are more likely than boys to be "teachers' pets," more likely to seek approval by earning high grades. The results of this study bear out this prediction at least with respect to English grades. However, although girls receive higher grades they do no better than boys on a standardized measure of reading skill (which may be assumed to have an important bearing on English grades). On the basis of this finding one hypothesis is offered that this sex difference is independent of reading skill, at least as measured by the Stanford Achievement Test. It seems desirable to test this first hypothesis by controlling other relevant variables such as general intelligence and socioeconomic status.

Another plausable assumption is that reading skill and English grade should be highly correlated since size of vacabulary and reading comprehension have an important bearing on how well one does in an English course. If Hypothesis One is true, however, it is possible that sex and other factors influence what English grades awarded (given certain levels of reading skill). Of course knowledge about rules of grammar, etc. also influence English grade. It is the contention of this paper that position in the social structure also affects English grade as indicated in the opening remarks of this chapter. Location in the social structure and the milieu in which one competes for grades probably both affect reading skill. The question may be raised as to whether or not reading skill and English grade are differentially affected by structural location. The Stanford Achievement Reading Test is a standardized measure of what the student *can do* and the results of this test are interpreted by norms for this test which are independent of the situation in a particular school or classroom. Conversely, the English grade represents the teacher's evaluation (both objective and subjective) of what the student *is doing* in a specific English classroom vis-a-vis other members of his particular class and the teachers' more-or-less well defined notion of what all students which she has taught have done. Thus, when reading skill score and English grade are compared, the comparison is between a measure of what the student *can do* which is objective with respect to norms for a large population with a more-or-less subjective *evaluation* of what student *is doing* in relation to a limited population. Given two standards of comparison, one would expect that the relationship between standardized achievement and grades would be less than perfect. Therefore, a second hypothesis is offered that the relationship between Stanford Achievement Reading Test score and English grade is not independent of some selected attributes which define the arena of competition for grades.

The results presented in Chapter VI suggest there is a positive relationship between grades and socioeconomic status and that this relationship persists within specific types of school context. It was also reported that a positive relationship exists between level of reading skill and socioeconomic status and this relationship holds within the various contexts. There was some indication that low-status boys in high-status school contexts have higher reading skill than low-status boys in low-status contexts. Conversely, high-status boys in low-status contexts have lower reading skill than their counterparts in high-status contexts. Obviously, general intelligence and other factors such as motivation have some bearing on the relationship between English grade and Stanford Achievement Reading Test scores. Given the present state of knowledge, it is difficult to formulate specific hypothesis concerning the interrelationship between I.Q., English grades, reading skill, sex, socioeconomic level, and social-status context of school. However, several subhypotheses are appended to the general hypothesis that the relationship between English grades and reading skill is not independent of these factors. These subhypotheses are given after a discussion of some assumption which are implicit in the foregoing discussion.

Some assumptions and operational definitions. The following assumptions are selected from a greater number of assumptions which may be equally plausable:

1. The Stanford Achievement Reading Test score is one indicator of how proficient the student is in one skill which has great relevance for how well he performs in English courses.

2. The English grade represents the teacher's evaluation of how well the student performs in a particular English course; this evaluation is based on both objective and subjective factors.

3. I.Q. as measured by the Kuhlmann-Anderson Test is an index of general

intelligence; it is probably as good a measure of "native ability" as any which is available at the present time.

4. Differences between Stanford Achievement Reading Test score and English grade represent:

a. Differences between teacher's objective or subjective evaluation of skill in English class and "actual" skill as indicated by a standardized measure.

b. Differences in motivation to do well on the Stanford Achievement Test as opposed to motivation to do well in the English course.

c. Operationally, the assumption is that "a" is more true than "b."

5. Differences between I.Q. and Stanford Achievement score represent differences in motivation.

a. Differential motivation here refers to what reading skill the subject has acquired as opposed to what skill he could be expected to acquire, given his general ability or potential.

b. Intelligence as measured by the Kuhlmann-Anderson test subsumes more than reading skill and vocabulary, therefore the difference in I.Q. and Stanford Achievement level is accounted for by non-verbal skills.

c. Recognizing that "b" may actually be more true than "a," for purposes of analysis here, we will operate as if "a" were true since no other data pertaining to potential were obtained in this study.

6. Subjects who have low intelligence (low I.Q. scores) but do well on the Stanford Achievement test (are above grade level in reading skill) are assumed to be highly motivated. Conversely, subjects who have high I.Q. scores but score below grade level on the Stanford Achievement test are assumed to be poorly motivated.

7. When intelligence, Stanford Achievement Reading Test score and Teacher's

grade are comparable (all high, medium, or low) the teacher is assumed to evaluate performance congruent with achievement and motivation. When they are incongruent, then the discrepancy is assumed to be at least partially due to (a) subject's motivation which is above or below average, (b) bias in teacher's evaluation, or (c) both of these.

Given these assumptions and operational definitions, the following subhypotheses are appended to the second general hypothesis that the relationship between Stanford Achievement reading level and English grade is not independent of I.Q., sex, socioeconomic level, and social class context of school:

2a. The relationship between grade and skill varies with the ascribed socioeconomic status of the student.

2b. The relationship between grade and skill varies with the social status context of the school.

2c. There is an interaction effect of ascribed status versus context on the relationship between grade and skill.

2d. If the assumption is correct that teachers evaluate performance of each student on the basis of how other students in the immediate milieu are performing (i.e., students within her classes provide the reference group) then competition for "good grades" (A's and B's) will be tougher in some contexts than others. Although it is difficult to predict in which contexts the competition and hence the grading will be more severe, a tentative hypothesis is offered that grading will be tougher in contexts which rank highest and lowest with respect to the reading skill and intelligence level.

2e. There is a tendency for teachers to reward highly-motivated students by giving them good grades and to punish poorly-motivated students by giving them bad grades, (i.e., part of the teacher's evaluation is based on how well the student lives up to his potential.) The question is raised as to whether or not this is true within all contexts. The hypothesis is offered that in contexts where grading is tougher the teacher places a greater emphasis on motivation.

Further discussion of these hypotheses is included with the presentation of results and in the concluding remarks of this chapter.

Variation in English Grades by Sex of Subject

Hypothesis One. It has been reported in Chapter IV that girls make higher English grades than boys. Also, it was reported that males and females do about equally well on the Stanford Achievement Reading Test. These two observations suggest that males and females are differentially graded (in English courses) with respect to the reading skill they have achieved. Data presented in that chapter and elsewhere indicate that English grades are related to ascribed socioeconomic status, social class (prestige) context, race (whites versus--Negroes), and intelligence as measured by the Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Test (or other intelligence tests).[2] The distribution of English grades and Stanford Achievement Reading Test scores by each of these variables is presented in Table VII-1 on the next page. Given the relationships portrayed in this table, it seems desirable to find out if the difference in English grade by sex holds when reading skill, ascribed status, context, and I.Q. are controlled. The hypothesis as stated in its general positive form is, "Girls make higher English grades than boys." The specific hypothesis to be tested is: "Junior and senior high school girls make more A's and B's (letter grades or numerical grades above 80) and fewer C's, D's, and F's (numerical grades 70-79 and below 70) than junior and senior high school boys."

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[2] Abrahamson, op. cit.; Davis, op. cit.

TABLE VII-1: -- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH GRADES AND OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT READING SCORES BY SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, I.Q. AND CONTEXT

Test Variables	English Grade					Stan. Achieve. Score			
	F,D	C	B	A	N	Below 7th Gr.	Grades 7 & 8	Grades 9-12	N
Sex									
Males	24	36	29	11	8167	32	33	35	5462
Females	10	26	38	26	8288	29	35	36	5847
Socioeconomic Status									
High	9	24	39	28	3049	16	33	51	2007
Middle	15	32	34	19	6847	29	34	37	5595
Low	20	35	31	14	4002	40	34	26	3475
Intelligence Quotient									
High	6	17	39	38	3993	8	28	64	2653
Middle	15	33	37	15	7327	28	40	32	5461
Low	31	45	21	3	2849	65	28	7	2141
Context									
Upper and Upper Middle	3	19	46	32	600	17	39	44	349
Balanced Middle	13	25	38	24	1440	19	38	43	336
Crosscut-Top	19	30	35	16	3498	21	32	47	2477
Crosscut-Center	14	39	31	16	1533	26	39	35	1053
Crosscut-All	15	28	34	23	1787	30	33	37	1390
Crosscut-Bottom	17	32	34	17	4101	32	34	34	3209
Predom. Lower Class	11	42	33	14	1485	48	34	18	1289
Rural & Rural Nonfarm	29	28	27	16	1908	35	32	33	1218
English Grade									
A and B						19	34	47	6110
C						41	34	25	3405
D and F						47	33	19	1695

The difference in grades by sex is examined by successively partialing the subjects into homogeneous subgroups according to reading skill, ascribed status, context, and I.Q. at the first order and then in all the various higher order partials produced by control of two or more of these test variables. Table VII-2 presents the percentage distribution of subjects by English grades below C (numerical grades 0-69); C (grades 70-79); and above C (80 and above) by sex, reading skill, ascribed socioeconomic status, and by sex, reading skill, and status. Looking at this table, one sees that girls make more high grades and fewer low grades than males at all levels of reading skill. This is true when status if added as a control. Percentage distribution of grades by sex, reading skill and context is shown in Table VII-3. Again, the relationship holds--females receive the higher grades in all contexts. The distribution of grades within I.Q. groups is displayed in Table VII-4 and the relationship holds in eight out of nine comparisons (per cent of grades above C is the same for males and females in the low-I.Q.--high-reading-score subgroup). Applying the sign test, this distribution of seven out of eight cases in the predicted direction is statistically significant.

The relationship of grades by sex was then examined at the third order of partialing with reading skill and any two of these test factors controlled: context, ascribed status and I.Q. The per cent distribution of English grades by sex within groups which are homogeneous with respect to ascribed socioeconomic status and I.Q. is given in Table VII-5. One finds that the relationship is in the predicted direction in twenty-four out of twenty-seven comparisons. This distribution of signs is statistically significant. (N is less than ten of the remaining three comparisons). When reading skill, context, and status are controlled, it is apparent from the distributions in Table VII-6 that the relationship between female sex and high English grade holds. The relationship

TABLE VII-2: -- ENGLISH GRADE BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SEX AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS CONTROLLED

S.E.S. & Grade / S.A. Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C
White Males												
Above 7 & 8	15.7	33.2	51.1	14.6	29.2	56.2	8.5	23.1	68.4	13.4	28.5	58.1
At 7 & 8	27.2	36.7	36.1	21.2	40.7	38.1	14.5	36.2	49.3	22.3	38.5	39.2
Below 7 & 8	34.6	42.9	22.5	29.1	47.9	23.0	24.8	46.5	28.7	31.4	45.4	23.2
White Females												
Above 7 & 8	4.5	18.2	77.3	2.9	15.9	81.2	2.2	8.1	89.7	3.1	14.6	82.3
At 7 & 8	11.0	30.7	58.3	7.2	23.3	69.5	5.2	18.1	76.7	8.1	24.6	67.3
Below 7 & 8	17.1	41.7	41.2	14.0	37.6	48.4	14.4	37.9	47.7	15.5	39.4	45.0
Total												
Above 7 & 8	10.0	25.6	64.4	8.4	22.2	69.4	5.2	15.2	79.6	8.0	21.2	70.8
At 7 & 8	18.6	33.5	47.9	13.6	31.3	55.1	9.4	26.3	64.3	14.7	31.1	54.2
Below 7 & 8	26.0	42.3	31.7	21.3	42.7	36.0	19.7	42.2	38.1	23.6	42.4	34.0

* Includes subjects with no information concerning socioeconomic status.

TABLE VII-3: -- ENGLISH GRADE BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SEX AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Sex and Grade / Stanford Achievement	Males			Females			Total		
	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C
Up. & Up. Middle									
Above 7 & 8	1	12	87	0	4	96	1	7	92
At 7 & 8	3	36	61	1	9	90	2	20	78
Below 7 & 8	8	65	27	6	42	52	7	52	41
Balanced Middle									
Above 7 & 8	6	15	79	0	3	97	3	8	89
At 7 & 8	3	39	58	2	21	77	23	29	68
Below 7 & 8	24	45	31	0	42	58	11	44	45
Crosscut-Top									
Above 7 & 8	16	27	57	5	16	79	10	22	68
At 7 & 8	27	35	38	12	25	63	19	30	51
Below 7 & 8	38	39	23	21	38	41	31	38	31
Crosscut-Center									
Above 7 & 8	7	41	52	1	16	83	4	27	69
At 7 & 8	20	50	30	7	29	64	13	38	49
Below 7 & 8	26	60	14	19	44	37	22	52	26
Crosscut-All									
Above 7 & 8	11	24	65	2	10	88	6	17	77
At 7 & 8	20	36	44	5	19	76	12	27	61
Below 7 & 8	28	46	26	17	41	42	23	43	34
Crosscut-Bottom									
Above 7 & 8	12	33	55	3	18	79	7	25	68
At 7 & 8	23	36	41	8	25	67	15	30	55
Below 7 & 8	33	43	24	11	39	50	22	41	37
Lower Class									
Above 7 & 8	8	32	60	0	12	88	4	22	74
At 7 & 8	9	53	38	2	24	74	5	38	57
Below 7 & 8	22	58	20	9	47	44	16	53	31
Rural & R.N.F.									
Above 7 & 8	27	25	48	7	17	76	17	21	62
At 7 & 8	44	27	29	17	31	52	29	29	42
Below 7 & 8	42	29	29	28	27	45	35	28	37

TABLE VII-4: -- ENGLISH GRADE BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SEX AND I.Q. CONTROLLED

I.Q. and Grade / Stanford Achievement	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C
White Males									
Above 7th and 8th Gr.	26	42	32	16	36	48	8	19	73
At 7th and 8th Gr.	31	46	23	22	40	38	8	27	65
Below 7th and 8th Gr.	38	47	15	24	45	31	20	35	45
White Females									
Above 7th and 8th Gr.	18	50	32	4	20	76	1	8	91
At 7th and 8th Gr.	17	34	49	8	27	65	2	11	87
Below 7th and 8th Gr.	21	46	33	12	37	51	3	31	66
Total									
Above 7th and 8th Gr.	24	44	32	10	27	63	4	13	83
At 7th and 8th Gr.	26	41	33	14	33	53	5	17	78
Below 7th and 8th Gr.	31	47	22	18	40	42	11	33	56

TABLE VII-5: — ENGLISH GRADE BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SEX, I.Q. AND SOCIOECONOMIC LEVEL CONTROLLED

I.Q. and Grade / SES & Stanford Achievement	Low I.Q.			Middle I.Q.			High I.Q.		
	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C	% Grade < C	% Grade C	% Grade > C
White Males									
High SES									
Above 7 & 8	(10)	(50)	(40)	13	37	50	5	12	83
At 7 & 8	30	45	25	17	39	44	4	21	75
Below 7 & 8	32	44	24	21	52	27	0	20	80
Middle SES									
Above 7 & 8	28	38	34	17	35	48	10	22	68
At 7 & 8	29	51	20	21	43	36	10	31	59
Below 7 & 8	33	55	12	25	45	30	20	37	43
Low SES									
Above 7 & 8	27	44	29	14	37	49	10	21	69
At 7 & 8	32	44	24	27	33	40	11	25	64
Below 7 & 8	40	44	16	26	40	34	14	36	50
White Females									
High SES									
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	4	16	80	1	4	95
At 7 & 8	5	32	63	5	25	70	2	7	91
Below 7 & 8	17	55	28	11	36	53	4	18	78
Middle SES									
Above 7 & 8	23	46	31	3	21	76	2	10	88
At 7 & 8	16	32	52	7	25	68	1	11	88
Below 7 & 8	20	42	38	13	34	53	3	29	68
Low SES									
Above 7 & 8	(25)	(50)	(25)	5	21	74	2	8	90
At 7 & 8	20	36	44	10	33	57	5	15	80
Below 7 & 8	23	49	28	11	39	50	0	39	61

( ) Paranthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-6: — PER CENT OF WHITE MALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

SES & English Grade / Context & Stanford Achievement	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES		
	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C
Up. & Up. Middle									
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	35	65	2	4	94
At 7 & 8	(50)	(0)	(50)	0	35	65	4	39	57
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	8	92	0	0	33	67
Balanced Middle									
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	9	13	78	5	12	83
At 7 & 8	(40)	(40)	(20)	0	50	50	0	22	78
Below 7 & 8	(33)	(33)	(33)	29	47	24	(12)	(38)	(50)
Crosscut-Top									
Above 7 & 8	24	61	37	18	25	57	10	26	64
At 7 & 8	32	31	37	28	35	37	13	39	48
Below 7 & 8	49	30	21	33	40	27	39	43	18
Crosscut-Center									
Above 7 & 8	6	35	59	8	42	50	6	36	58
At 7 & 8	24	46	30	18	54	28	23	41	36
Below 7 & 8	30	56	14	25	64	11	22	56	22
Crosscut-All									
Above 7 & 8	11	30	59	12	23	65	6	19	75
At 7 & 8	26	31	43	17	42	42	16	30	53
Below 7 & 8	29	43	28	28	48	24	24	47	29
Crosscut-Bottom									
Above 7 & 8	12	31	57	14	75	51	7	30	64
At 7 & 8	25	33	42	22	39	39	18	40	42
Below 7 & 8	35	41	24	32	45	23	26	47	26
Predom. Lower Class									
Above 7 & 8	16	38	47	7	33	60	0	29	71
At 7 & 8	12	58	30	7	48	45	0	62	38
Below 7 & 8	21	60	19	16	69	15	8	84	8
Rural & R.N.F.									
Above 7 & 8	28	28	44	26	22	52	33	25	42
At 7 & 8	49	27	24	41	30	29	37	16	47
Below 7 & 8	25	31	44	36	29	35	(38)	(0)	(62)

( ) Parenthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-6 (continued): -- PER CENT OF WHITE FEMALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

SES & English Grade / Context & Stanford Achievement	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES		
	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C
Up. & Up. Middle									
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	6	94	0	3	97
At 7 & 8	(50)	(50)	(0)	0	10	90	0	7	93
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	8	38	54	6	41	53
Balanced Middle									
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	8	92	0	0	100
At 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	5	18	77	0	20	80
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(75)	(25)	0	40	60	0	36	64
Crosscut-Top									
Above 7 & 8	12	15	73	3	21	76	5	9	86
At 7 & 8	15	39	46	13	23	64	7	21	72
Below 7 & 8	18	43	39	20	37	43	24	33	43
Crosscut-Center									
Above 7 & 8	0	24	76	1	17	82	0	2	98
At 7 & 8	10	26	64	6	31	63	3	23	74
Below 7 & 8	21	54	25	20	37	43	0	36	64
Crosscut-All									
Above 7 & 8	3	11	86	2	6	92	0	13	87
At 7 & 8	10	21	69	2	21	77	9	11	80
Below 7 & 8	23	37	40	13	44	43	21	37	42
Crosscut-Bottom									
Above 7 & 8	3	21	76	3	17	80	1	13	86
At 7 & 8	10	32	58	6	20	74	6	24	70
Below 7 & 8	12	38	50	10	39	51	11	41	48
Predom. LowerClass									
Above 7 & 8	0	15	85	0	10	90	(0)	(11)	(89)
At 7 & 8	2	24	74	1	24	75	4	19	77
Below 7 & 8	9	52	39	10	39	51	10	52	38
Rural & R.N.F.									
Above 7 & 8	8	19	73	8	18	74	4	10	86
At 7 & 8	19	36	45	14	29	57	19	25	56
Below 7 & 8	34	29	37	21	27	52	36	18	46

( ) Parenthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

is maintained in all but seven of the seventy-two comparisons (a statistically significant distribution of signs). Note that the N is less than ten in four of the seven observations which contradict the hypothesis. The remaining third order partial involves subdividing subjects by reading skill, context, and I.Q. Only five comparisons (all with N of less than ten) out of seventy-two comparisons do not fit the predicted relationship. These comparisons are presented in the right hand margin of Table VII-7. Thus, analysis at the third order of partialing confirms that the sex difference in English grades is not spurious when selected test factors are controlled three at a time.

A final test of the relationship between sex and grades is made at the fourth order of partialing in which reading skill, ascribed status, context, and I.Q. are simultaneously controlled. Subjects were divided into subgroups which were homogeneous with regard to these four test attributes. This division provides 176 comparisons which appear in Table VII-7. Only twenty-eight of these observations are opposite to the prediction and N is less than ten in twenty-seven of them. This distribution greatly exceeds chance. Therefore, on the basis of these comparisons, the conclusion must be that there is some relationship between being a female and receiving A's and B's in English classes which is more or less independent of reading skill, ascribed socioeconomic status, social class context, and I.Q. There are a few special cases where this relationship is weakened, but discussion of these situations is reserved until the concluding remarks in this chapter concerning the relationship between ascribed status, social class context, and motivation.

English Grade by Stanford Achievement Level

It has been noted above that English grades vary with a number of variables which are more or less extrinsic to what goes into the grades as popularly conceived. It has been shown that English grades vary with the sex, socio-

TABLE VII-7: -- PER CENT OF LOW I.Q. WHITE MALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A. Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
At 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(50)	(50)
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(17)	(83)	(0)
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(33)	(33)	(33)	(20)	(60)	(20)
At 7 & 8	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(75)	(25)	(0)	(33)	(67)	(12)	(50)	(38)
Below 7 & 8	(100)	(0)	(0)	(33)	(67)	(0)	--	--	--	(38)	(62)	(0)
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	36	43	21	(33)	(50)	(17)	(0)	(50)	(50)	28	44	28
At 7 & 8	52	29	19	20	38	42	(38)	(50)	(12)	36	36	28
Below 7 & 8	49	34	17	42	42	16	42	25	33	43	40	17
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(40)	(60)	(0)	(100)	(0)	0	73	27
At 7 & 8	25	62	13	25	62	13	(100)	(0)	(0)	31	57	12
Below 7 & 8	39	61	0	35	59	6	(29)	(42)	(29)	36	58	6
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	(40)	(20)	(40)	(50)	(25)	(25)	--	--	--	(45)	(22)	(33)
At 7 & 8	36	46	18	(30)	(60)	(10)	(33)	(50)	(17)	36	49	15
Below 7 & 8	37	46	17	24	64	12	36	46	18	34	50	16
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	18	46	36	(33)	(22)	(45)	(0)	(100)	(0)	21	42	37
At 7 & 8	30	39	31	35	52	13	(20)	(60)	(20)	30	44	26
Below 7 & 8	42	40	18	35	51	14	31	38	31	40	43	17
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	24	38	38	(0)	(50)	(50)	--	--	--	20	40	40
At 7 & 8	12	61	27	10	60	30	(0)	(60)	(40)	10	61	29
Below 7 & 8	24	59	17	28	65	7	(17)	(83)	(0)	28	59	13
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	(83)	(17)	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(67)	(22)	(11)
At 7 & 8	68	23	9	69	31	0	(50)	(25)	(25)	67	26	7
Below 7 & 8	55	30	15	38	33	29	--	--	--	54	29	17

*Parenthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-7 (continued): -- PER CENT OF MIDDLE I.Q. WHITE MALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A. Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(80)	(20)	(0)	(20)	(80)	0	45	55
At 7 & 8	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(71)	(29)	0	58	42	5	60	35
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(25)	(75)	(0)	(0)	(33)	(67)	(0)	(60)	(40)
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	18	9	73	8	25	67	12	20	68
At 7 & 8	(100)	(0)	(0)	0	55	45	(0)	(30)	(70)	5	43	52
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(30)	(40)	(30)	(17)	(50)	(33)	25	44	31
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	31	38	31	23	32	45	15	39	46	21	35	44
At 7 & 8	20	30	50	30	43	27	18	36	46	28	40	32
Below 7 & 8	37	30	33	25	47	28	33	52	15	29	44	27
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	5	42	53	12	48	40	11	28	61	10	43	47
At 7 & 8	27	38	35	19	52	29	12	50	38	20	48	32
Below 7 & 8	24	41	35	20	64	16	18	64	18	21	57	22
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	10	43	47	13	25	62	14	32	54	13	30	57
At 7 & 8	24	28	48	16	43	42	20	40	40	18	40	42
Below 7 & 8	24	41	34	27	44	29	(14)	(58)	(28)	25	44	31
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	10	30	60	17	40	43	13	52	35	14	39	47
At 7 & 8	26	29	45	22	36	42	24	40	36	24	34	42
Below 7 & 8	22	39	39	27	42	31	22	52	26	25	42	33
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	0	55	45	10	33	57	(0)	(33)	(67)	8	36	56
At 7 & 8	10	62	28	6	48	46	(0)	(50)	(50)	6	52	42
Below 7 & 8	9	73	18	19	51	30	(0)	(86)	(14)	14	59	27
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	33	33	33	31	27	42	(29)	(29)	(42)	31	31	38
At 7 & 8	44	27	29	37	34	29	(50)	(0)	(50)	41	28	31
Below 7 & 8	37	26	37	31	31	38	(33)	(0)	(67)	33	28	39

*Parenthesis indicate percentage on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-7 (continued): — PER CENT OF HIGH I.Q. WHITE MALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	17	83	3	3	94	2	6	92
At 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	13	87	7	26	67	3	21	76
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(20)	(80)	(0)	(60)	(40)
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(9)	(91)	0	4	96	0	6	94
At 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	0	40	60	(0)	(11)	(89)	0	31	69
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(20)	(80)
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	12	18	70	7	16	77	10	18	72
At 7 & 8	(67)	(0)	(33)	20	24	56	3	27	70	15	25	60
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	24	28	48	--	--	--	33	30	37
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(12)	(88)	3	30	67	0	38	62	2	29	69
At 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	6	53	41	(0)	(0)	(100)	5	43	52
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(83)	(17)	--	--	--	(0)	(89)	(11)
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	9	22	69	6	24	70	0	8	92	5	19	76
At 7 & 8	0	18	82	12	25	63	0	15	85	5	20	75
Below 7 & 8	0	(17)	(83)	17	50	33	(0)	(100)	(0)	8	31	61
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	11	25	64	7	30	63	3	9	88	7	24	69
At 7 & 8	5	26	69	9	33	58	9	9	82	7	27	66
Below 7 & 8	(50)	(50)	(0)	(29)	(14)	(57)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(30)	(30)	(40)
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(25)	(75)	0	25	75	(0)	(17)	(83)	0	19	81
At 7 & 8	(0)	(43)	(57)	(0)	(29)	(71)	(0)	(100)	(0)	0	33	67
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	--	--	--	(0)	(0)	(100)
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	16	16	68	20	22	58	33	0	67	20	20	60
At 7 & 8	(24)	(38)	(38)	(20)	(30)	(50)	45	10	45	18	30	52
Below 7 & 8	(29)	(29)	(42)	(50)	(17)	(33)	42	25	33	36	21	43

*Parenthesis indicate percentage on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-7 (continued): -- PER CENT OF LOW I.Q. WHITE FEMALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A. Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
At 7 & 8	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(33)	(0)	(67)
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(50)	(50)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(33)	(33)	(33)
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	--	--	--	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)
At 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(60)	(40)
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(25)	(75)	(0)	(33)	(67)	(0)	(25)	(75)
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	(50)	(50)	--	(60)	(20)	(20)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(45)	(22)	(33)
At 7 & 8	(30)	(30)	(40)	30	25	45	(0)	(50)	(50)	28	28	44
Below 7 & 8	43	43	14	22	41	37	(20)	(60)	(20)	25	43	32
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(100)	(0)	--	--	--	(0)	(100)	(0)
At 7 & 8	(12)	(38)	(50)	21	32	47	(0)	(50)	(50)	18	34	48
Below 7 & 8	25	55	20	41	47	12	(0)	(75)	(25)	29	54	17
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(0)	(100)	--	--	--	(0)	(80)	(20)
At 7 & 8	(25)	(0)	(75)	12	50	38	(0)	(0)	(100)	13	27	60
Below 7 & 8	36	30	34	17	54	29	--	(33)	(67)	25	43	32
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(50)	(50)	--	--	--	(0)	(40)	(60)
At 7 & 8	15	38	47	9	41	50	(0)	(17)	(83)	12	37	51
Below 7 & 8	19	53	28	16	42	42	(20)	(50)	(30)	18	47	35
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(100)	(0)	--	--	--	(0)	(67)	(33)
At 7 & 8	8	33	59	0	22	78	(17)	(33)	(50)	5	30	65
Below 7 & 8	11	62	27	18	46	36	13	67	20	14	56	30
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	(33)	(67)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	--	--	--	(25)	(75)	(0)
At 7 & 8	33	47	20	33	25	42	(0)	(100)	(0)	32	39	29
Below 7 & 8	38	31	31	25	28	47	(100)	(0)	(0)	32	29	39

*Parenthesis indicate percentage on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-7 (continued): -- PER CENT OF MIDDLE I.Q. WHITE FEMALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A. Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	8	92	0	6	94
At 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(25)	(75)	0	14	86	0	18	82
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(17)	(50)	(33)	--	(67)	(33)	7	60	33
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(12)	(88)	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	6	94
At 7 & 8	--	(50)	(50)	8	15	77	0	25	75	3	24	73
Below 7 & 8	--	(75)	(25)	(0)	(44)	(56)	(0)	(38)	(62)	0	48	52
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	21	8	71	5	32	63	9	19	72	7	23	70
At 7 & 8	13	42	45	15	29	56	6	27	67	13	31	56
Below 7 & 8	8	46	46	23	33	44	19	29	52	20	35	45
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	0	25	75	0	20	80	0	5	95	0	21	79
At 7 & 8	10	28	62	4	36	60	0	24	76	6	31	63
Below 7 & 8	19	49	32	15	35	50	(0)	(20)	(80)	15	40	45
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	4	15	81	4	10	86	0	17	83	3	13	84
At 7 & 8	11	30	59	1	20	79	9	18	73	5	23	72
Below 7 & 8	9	50	41	13	40	47	36	36	27	14	43	43
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	3	24	73	4	22	74	4	21	75	4	23	73
At 7 & 8	10	33	57	7	20	73	7	31	62	8	26	66
Below 7 & 8	6	32	62	8	35	57	7	40	53	7	34	59
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	0	19	81	0	12	88	(0)	(25)	(75)	0	14	86
At 7 & 8	2	24	74	1	22	77	0	23	77	2	23	75
Below 7 & 8	2	44	54	3	34	63	0	17	83	2	38	60
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	10	17	73	6	20	74	(0)	(33)	(67)	7	20	73
At 7 & 8	16	38	46	15	28	57	(33)	(33)	(33)	16	32	52
Below 7 & 8	30	31	39	29	32	39	(0)	(40)	(60)	25	29	46

* Parenthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

TABLE VII-7 (continued): -- PER CENT OF HIGH I.Q. WHITE FEMALES WITH GRADES LESS THAN C, C, AND ABOVE C, BY STANFORD AHIEVEMENT LEVEL WITH SES AND CONTEXT CONTROLLED

Context and S.A Level	Low SES			Middle SES			High SES			Total*		
	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C	Gr. <C	Gr. C	Gr. >C
Up. & Up. Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	8	92	0	2	98	0	3	97
At 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	0	0	100	0	5	95	0	6	94
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(20)	(80)	(0)	(14)	(86)	0	23	77
Balanced Middle												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	7	93	0	0	100	0	2	98
At 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	10	90	0	8	92
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	--	--	--	(0)	(33)	(67)	(0)	(33)	(67)
Crosscut-Top												
Above 7 & 8	9	9	82	1	12	87	3	3	94	3	8	89
At 7 & 8	6	33	61	3	14	83	7	7	86	5	15	80
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(67)	(33)	6	29	65	(0)	(67)	(33)	4	39	57
Crosscut-Center												
Above 7 & 8	0	12	88	2	13	85	0	0	100	1	11	88
At 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	12	88	(17)	(17)	(66)	4	10	86
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(50)	(50)
Crosscut-All												
Above 7 & 8	0	4	96	0	3	97	0	11	89	0	5	95
At 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	7	93	0	6	94	0	6	94
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(14)	(86)	(0)	(100)	(0)	0	33	67
Crosscut-Bottom												
Above 7 & 8	0	11	89	2	10	88	0	8	92	1	10	89
At 7 & 8	6	14	80	0	11	89	0	9	91	2	12	86
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(22)	(78)	0	41	59	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	34	66
Lower Class												
Above 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	0	100	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	0	100
At 7 & 8	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	0	100	(0)	(0)	(100)	0	0	100
Below 7 & 8	--	--	--	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(100)
Rural & R.N.F.												
Above 7 & 8	0	8	92	9	17	74	6	6	88	6	13	81
At 7 & 8	(12)	(12)	(86)	0	25	75	(0)	(20)	(80)	3	21	76
Below 7 & 8	(0)	(20)	(80)	(10)	(20)	(70)	(100)	(0)	(0)	12	19	69

* Parenthesis indicate percentage based on N of ten or less.

economic status, and the social-class context of the subjects being graded. It has also been shown that English grades vary with variables with are somewhat more intrinsic to what goes into the grades, namely, I.Q. and Stanford Achievement Reading Level. One also finds that a positive relationship exists between English grades and Stanford Achievement reading level. All other things being equal, one would expect that this would be a strong relationship, i.e., that those persons who show a high level of achievement should make high grades, that those who are at an average level of achievement should make average grades, and that those who are low in achievement should make low grades. Examination of Table VII-1 reveals that this expectation is only realized in part.

If we assume that a numerical grade between 70 and 79 is an average grade, and that grades above and below this range are above and below average. Operating with this assumption, we make operational definitions that subjects who achieve at the ninth grade level or above are being downgraded if they make below 80 and that subjects who achieve at the seventh or eighth grade level are being downgraded if they make less than 70. Conversely, subjects who achieve at the sixth grade level or below are being up graded if they make grades of 70 or above; subjects who achieve at the seventh and eighth grade levels are being upgraded if they make 80 or above. The remaining subjects are viewed as if they are being graded at achievement level. Hence, we find that of all white subjects for whom both English grade and Stanford Achievement Reading score were available, 42 per cent were graded above achievement level, 43 per cent were graded at achievement level, and 15 per cent were graded below achievement level. Thus, the initial conclusion would be that teachers are more likely to grade students at or above achievement level than below achievement level.

Now we know from previous analysis that males and females do about equally well on the Stanford Achievement Reading test but that females receive better English grades. We also know that both English grades and Stanford Achievement scores vary with socioeconomic status of the subject and the social-class context of the school in which he is being tested and evaluated. A hypothesis has been offered that teachers make invidious comparisons between middle-class and lower-class subjects so that middle and upper-class subjects tend to be upgraded while lower or working-class subjects tend to be downgraded, all other factors being equal. It is further hypothesized that these invidious comparisons are maximized in schools which are heterogeneous with respect to class origins of pupils (i.e., crosscut the class structure) and are minimized in schools which have pupils which are largely homogeneous with respect to class origins. Let us now examine the relationship between English grade and Stanford Achievement level by partialing on sex, socioeconomic status, and social-class context.

Unfortunately, Stanford Achievement Reading score and/or English grade were missing for about one out of every three subjects. About 10 per cent of the subjects in seven of the eight contexts do not have English grades, either because cases could not be matched with cumulative records or else because of transfer into the system. Grades were missing for 24 per cent of the boys (and 7 per cent of the girls) in Upper-and-Upper-Middle-Class context schools due to difficulty in matching records with questionnaires at the private boys school, e.g., date of birth, father's occupation, etc. were not always indicated on the records or questionnaires, and there was a high transfer rate in and out of the private school. The bias in missing cases is even stronger with respect to Stanford Achievement Reading Scores. These scores are lacking for half of the subjects in the Upper-and-Upper-Middle-Class context and for 80 per cent of the subjects in the Balanced-Upper-and-Lower-Middle-Class context. Stanford Achievement information is lacking in the later case because the principal of the large senior high in that context removed or destroyed this information as a matter of policy. When this school is excepted, then the rate of missing information drops to thirty per cent. This is a serious limitation. However, the remaining schools within the context are all junior high schools which feed to this large, senior upper-middle-class high school so that what difference there is primarily a difference of age and maturity rather than a status difference between missing cases and those for whom Stanford Achievement is reported. Age bias or difference in year in school is not important here since both Grades and Stanford Achievement results are standardized as of seventh and eighth grade. (That is, Stanford Achievement tests for senior high students were administered in the seventh or eighth grade and English grades were taken from the cumulative records either at or as near the eighth grade level as possible.) Stanford Achievement scores are missing for about 30 per cent of the cases in the remaining contexts, except for the rural-and-rural-non-farm context where information is lacking for 42 per cent of the cases. There are no other systematic biases in the missing information on grades and achievement scores.

It has been shown that at the zero order of partialing that a positive but imperfect relationship exists between English grade and reading skill. Now it is time to examine this relationship at all levels of partialing in which sex of subject, socioeconomic status, I.Q., and social-class context are successively controlled. Data are presented in Table VII-2 which show that the predicted relationship holds when sex is controlled but it is attenuated in the male subgroup. When socioeconomic status is controlled the relationship is weaker in the low-status group. These data support hypothesis 2a--that the relationship between grade and skill vary with ascribed status of the student. When context is controlled as shown in Table VII-3, the relationship between grade and skill appears to be stronger in the homogeneous contexts and weaker in the crosscut-bottom and rural--rural-non-farm contexts. This finding supports hypothesis 2b--that the relationship between grade and skill varies with social-class context of school. When I.Q. is controlled, one can see in Table VII-4 that the relationship holds in each of the three comparisons. Since it has been shown that there is a big sex difference in number of grades received, sex is always included as a test variable in the remaining higher order partials.

When both sex and socioeconomic status are controlled there is a regular attenuation of the relationship as one moves from high to low status for males. For females, the relationship does not appear to be quite as strong in the middle status group. This can be seen in Table VII-2. In Table VII-3 data are presented concerning the skill versus grade relationship when sex and context are controlled. Inspection of these data indicates that the relationship holds in all comparisons. It is somewhat attenuated in the Upper Middle and Balanced Middle contexts where all females tend to make A's and B's. The relationship is slightly weaker for males in the remaining contexts (except in the Crosscut-bottom context where it is about the same. When sex and I.Q. are controlled as shown in Table VII-4, one sees that relationship holds in five of six comparisons. Since this distribution of signs is not statistically significant, the conclusion is that relationship between reading skill and grades is not independent of sex and I.Q. Further examination of this table shows that the relationship is stronger in both the male and female high I.Q. subgroups and weaker at the low I.Q. level. Thus, at the second order of partialing by successive combinations of sex with socioeconomic status, context, and I.Q. one finds that English grades are not always congruent with reading skill particularly in the low I.Q., female subgroup. The relationship is next examined at the third order of partialing.

It has been reported that there is some attenuation of the relationship between reading skill and English grade with male sex, low socioeconomic status and low I.Q. Let us now see what happens when all three of these variables are controlled. The percentage distributions of grades within groups which are homogeneous with regard to these three variables are presented in Table VII-5. We see that predicted relationship disappears for males in the high-I.Q., high-status group; boys who have reading skill below seventh grade level receive the same kind of grades as boys who achieve above grade level. The relationship is weak for low I.Q. boys at all status levels. The direction of the relationship is actually reversed for low I.Q. girls in the middle and low status subgroups. Poor readers make better English grades than good readers!

What happens to the grade--versus--skill relationship when sex, context and ascribed socioeconomic status are simultaneously held constant. These data appear in Table VII-6. First, one finds that the relationship for boys tends to decrease as status increases in the two high-prestige contexts; in the remaining contexts the relationship tends to increase with status (except for the rural and rural-non-farm context where the direction of the relationship is unclear. In the two high-prestige contexts, the attenuation results from the fact that high-socioeconomic-status males tend to receive A's and B's regardless of reading skill. Middle and low-status boys in these contexts who achieve below grade level on the reading test almost uniformly receive C's. Note that in the three prestige contexts which crosscut the class structure, crosscut-center, crosscut-bottom, and crosscut-representative of all schools, one finds very little difference in the grade--skill relationship by socioeconomic status of subject. The greatest differentiation in the relationship by socioeconomic status within a context occurs within the crosscut-top and lower-class contexts. The situation in the rural-rural-nonfarm context is peculiar in that middle and low-status boys who achieve at grade level receive lower English grades than other boys in this subgroup who are better readers or poorer readers, while the opposite is true for high-status boys in this context. Females within this context are more likely to be graded in accordance with reading skill. In the remaining contexts, the findings for girls parallel those reported for boys except that there is a decrease in the grade-skill relationship within the crosscut-center context as ascribed status increases. Increase in the predicted relationship is less marked for females in the crosscut-top and lower-class contexts. At this level of analysis, the results lend support to hypothesis 2c: that there is an interaction effect of ascribed status with context on the relationship between reading skill and English grade. It seems to be true that both high status boys and high status girls in the lower-class context make lower grades than their counterparts within the two high prestige contexts at all levels of reading skill. On the other hand, only low-status males and females who score above grade level on the reading test do better in the high-prestige contexts than low-status subjects do in the lower class context.

To complete examination of the grade--skill relationship at the third order of partialing, subjects were divided according to sex, context, and I.Q. The results of this analysis are displayed in the right hand margin of Table VII-7. Looking at this table, one finds that the predicted relationship between Stanford Achievement Reading Test score and English grade holds for boys in twenty-three out of twenty-eight comparisons; a statistically significant sign distribution. Three of the remaining five comparisons involve N of less than ten, and one of the two with large N is a tie. Because the subgroup N's are small, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about what happens to the grade-skill relationship as I.Q. varies within the two high and the two low prestige contexts. Three reversals of the grade--skill relationship are observed, one in the high I.Q.--lower-class context, and two in the rural-and-rural-non-farm context. When one examines what happens to this relationship among females in the various I.Q.--context groups one finds that it holds in the predicted direction in all but four of the twenty-four comparisons (a statistically-significant sign distribution) and all four contrary comparisons involve N of less than ten. In the two high-prestige contexts there is a marked attenuation of the relationship for high and low I.Q. groups. The same is true (to a lesser degree) for high and low I.Q. groups in the crosscut-all and lower-class contexts. There are three reversals of sign, involving low I.Q. girls in the crosscut-"center" and "all" contexts and the rural-and-rural-non-farm context. As a summary statement of what happens to the grade--skill relationship when it is tested at the third order of partialing, one might say that within most of the contexts, the teachers give English grades in accordance with level of reading skill but that this is probably less true for different I.Q. groups within certain contexts [and at given levels of socioeconomic status within these contexts]. It is necessary to control sex, I.Q., ascribed socioeconomic status and context all at the same time in order to examine the interaction effect among these variables on the grade--skill relationship.

Unfortunately, when the 10,254 subjects are partialed into subgroups which are homogeneous regarding the four test variables mentioned above, the reduction of N size plagues one who attempts analysis at this fourth order of partialing. Five of the 144 possible subgroups do not permit any comparisons. One hundred of the 144 comparisons involve N's of less than ten at one or more levels of reading skill. Therefore, it is difficult to say very much about interaction effect at this order of partialing. It seems useful, however, to indicate certain trends which seem to be evident in the data presented in Table VII-7.

An over-all view of Table VII-7 reveals that the relationship between reading skill lies in the predicted direction in 82 out of 139 comparisons.

(This distribution of signs is statistically significant). Thus, one must conclude that teachers do assign English grades in line with how well students read as indicated by the Stanford Achievement Reading test. In 44 of the remaining 57 comparisons teachers do not give grades which are congruent with reading skill. The direction of the relationship is unclear in the remaining 13 comparisons due to small N (e.g., see the distribution for low I.Q.—low SES white males in the balanced middle-class context). Since size of N is too small to say much about changes in the degree of relationship between English grade and reading skill, attention is directed to fluctuations in the direction of the relationship when sex, ascribed socioeconomic status, context, and I.Q. have been controlled. If one examines what happens to the direction of the relationship among males, it can be seen in Table VII-7 that it is positive in 40 out of 71 comparisons; it is positive in 42 out of 68 comparisons for females. Hence there is little difference in direction of the relationship between sexes when status, context, and I.Q. are controlled. If one looks at signs within broad groupings by ascribed status, it can be seen that 30 out of 48 comparisons in the high status subgroups are positive, a statistically significant distribution of signs; while 28 out of 48 signs are postive for middle-status subjects and 24 out of 43 signs are positive for low-status subjects. The distributions of signs for the middle and lower-status groups are not statistically significant. Therefore, one must again accept Hypothesis 2a that the relationship between grade and skill varies with the ascribed socioeconomic status of the students. Application of the sign test to distributions of signs within all lower I.Q. subgroups, versus middle and high I.Q. subgroups will also show that the relationship between grade and skill is not independent of I.Q.

Hypothesis 2b states that the relationship between English grade and level of reading skill varies with the social class context of the school in which the students compete for grades. Further examination of Table VII-7 shows that the direction of the relationship between English grade and reading skill fluctuates within contexts. Three-fourths of the comparisons are in the predicted direction for crosscut-top, crosscut-all, and crosscut-bottom contexts. About half of the comparisons are in the predicted direction for crosscut-center, lower-class and rural-nonfarm contexts; less than half are postive in the upper-middle and balanced-middle contexts. These data at the fourth order of partialing support Hypothesis 2b.

Hypothesis 2c states that there is an interaction effect of ascribed socioeconomic status with context upon the relationship between English grade and reading skill. It has been shown that the data support this hypothesis at the third order of partialing. Let us now examine the character of this interaction effect at the fourth order of partialing where I.Q. is added as a control by asking three questions.

First, in what contexts do subjects with low ascribed status receive grades which are higher or lower than might be expected, given comparable levels of reading skill and I.Q.? Since the middle-I.Q. group provides the largest N, comparisons will be limited to that group. Let us take the percentage distribution of English grades by reading skill for all middle-I.Q., low status males and middle-I.Q., low status females shown in Table VII-5 as standards. Entering Table VII-7 with these standards, one finds middle-I.Q., low status boys receive better grades than expected at all levels of reading skill in the crosscut-bottom context and that boys who achieve at grade level receive better grades than expected in the crosscut-top and crosscut-all contexts. Boys within the homogeneous contexts generally receive fewer A's and B's than expected. Middle I.Q., low status girls receive better grades than one would expect in the crosscut-all and lower class contexts and receive fewer good grades than one would expect in the rural nonfarm context at all levels of reading skill. Low-status girls who read below grade level receive better grades than one would expect in the crosscut-bottom context and poorer grades than one would expect in the crosscut-center context. These data suggest that low status boys and girls of average intelligence tend to be overgraded in crosscut-all and crosscut-bottom schools.

Second, in what contexts do middle-I.Q. subjects with middle ascribed status receive grades which are higher or lower than might be expected, given comparable levels of reading skill? Again, the standards for comparison are obtained from Table VII-5 which shows how middle I.Q. and middle status boys and girls are graded. Using this standard for boys and looking at Table VII-7 to see what happens within contexts, one finds that middle I.Q. and status boys with reading skill "at" or "above" grade level are overgraded in the balanced middle, crosscut-all, and lower-class contexts. They are undergraded in the upper middle, crosscut-top, crosscut-center, and rural nonfarm contexts at all level of reading skill. Using the standard for girls, one finds that girls with reading skill "at" or "above" grade level are overgraded in the upper middle, balanced middle, crosscut-all, and lower class contexts. They are undergraded in the crosscut-top and rural non-farm contexts. Girls who score above grade level do better than might be expected in the crosscut-center context. Girls who score below grade level do less well than might be expected in the upper-middle and crosscut-all contexts. These data suggest that middle-status boys and girls of average intelligence tend to be overgraded in the balanced middle, crosscut-all, and lower-class contexts; they are undergraded in the crosscut-top and rural-non-farm contexts.

Third, in what contexts do middle-I.Q. subjects with high ascribed status receive grades which are higher or lower than might be expected, given comparable levels of reading ability? Once more, standards for this group of boys and girls are obtained from Table VII-5 and Table VII-7 is entered, using these standards for analizing variation by context. Looking first at the grade distributions for boys, one finds different patterns of variation by context at different levels of reading skill. Thus, middle-I.Q., high-status boys with reading skill above grade level receive even better grades than one would expect in all contexts except crosscut-top, crosscut-bottom and rural-nonfarm contexts. Those who read at grade level are overgraded in the balanced-middle, crosscut-top, lower-class, and rural-nonfarm contexts. Those who read below grade level in the two high prestige contexts are overgraded. Middle-I.Q., high-status girls who read at or above grade level are overgraded in all but the crosscut-top, crosscut-bottom, and rural-nonfarm contexts. Girls who score below grade level on the reading test are overgraded in the balanced middle, crosscut-center, lower-class, and rural-nonfarm contexts. Girls are undergraded at all levels of reading skill in the crosscut-top context. Thus, it can be seen that high status boys and girls of average intelligence and with average or above average reading skill are overgraded in all but the crosscut-top, crosscut-bottom, and rural-nonfarm contexts.

The answers to these three questions provide further confirmation of Hypothesis 2c that there is an interaction effect between ascribed status and grade. One finds that there is only a slight tendency for high-status subjects to receive better grades than low-status subjects at given levels of intelligence and reading skill, taking an overall view of the data in Table VII-7. On the other hand, within certain contexts some status groups receive fewer A's and B's and more D's and F's than one would expect—given their intelligence and reading skill. One finds that low-status boys of average intelligence in the upper- and the balanced-middle class contexts receive lower grades than they should, given how well they read,while the converse in true for high status boys with average intelligence in this context. This findings does not hold for low versus high status girls of average intelligence.

One finds that all subjects of average intelligence tend to be overgraded in the crosscut-all context and to be graded below reading skill level in the crosscut-top and rural-and-rural-nonfarm contexts with a few exceptions as noted above. Within the crosscut-bottom context the lower-status boys tend to receive better grades than one would expect given their ability while higher-status boys receive lower grades than one would expect given their ability. The same is true for girls with average intelligence in this context. One finds this is also true for high-status girls in the predominantly lower-class context. High status boys in this lower-class context receive better grades than one would expect, given their average intelligence. However, these boys generally do not receive as many A's and B's as high status boys of average intelligence in the two high-prestige contexts. Likewise, high status girls of average intelligence in high prestige contexts generally receive more A's and B's than high status girls in low prestige contexts. Thus, if a high-status student of average intelligence attends a low status school, the context has a depressing effect on his grade; the converse is not true for low-status boys of average intelligence attending high prestige schools but it is true than low-status girls attending a school in the high prestige context classification do better than low-status girls in lower class and crosscut-bottom contexts.

The foregoing discussion has been directed toward what happens to the student of average ability (intelligence) in terms of the kinds of grades he gets relative to his reading skill, his socioeconomic status, and the context in which he competes. Increasing attention is being directed in this country to two other groups of students: the talented or bright students and the retarded or dull student. Talented students are operationally defined for the purposes of this study as students with I.Q.'s above 109 who score above grade level on the Stanford Achievement Reading Test. Dull students are those with I.Q.'s below 90 who score below grade level on the reading test. Table VII-4 provides the standards for comparison: 73 per cent of the "talented" males receive A's or B's, 19 per cent receive C's, 8 per cent get D's and F's; 91 per cent of "talented" females receive A's and B's, 8 per cent C's, and 1 per cent below C's. Conversely, 15 per cent of the "dull" males receive grades higher than C, 47 per cent--C's, 38 per cent--less than C; 33 per cent of the "dull" females receive grades above C, 46 per cent get C's, and 21 per cent get D's and F's. (The strong difference in grading by sex is apparent in this standard). Let us now examine the right hand margin, Table VII-7 to discover what happens to dull and to talented male and female students within the various contexts.

In what contexts is talent rewarded by a high percentage of good grades? One finds that the bright male students do receive about what one would expect in the crosscut contexts and they receive even better grades than one would expect in the homogeneous contexts. Only in the rural-and-rural-nonfarm context do they fall somewhat below the expectation. The same is true for talented females. (Parenthetically, it might be noted that high-I.Q. girls in the lower class context all receive grades above C regardless of ascribed socioeconomic status or reading ability).

In what contexts are dull students unduly rewarded or punished? Dull males tend to receive about what one would expect in crosscut contexts except that crosscut-center group they receive more C's and fewer A's and B's than the general population of dull male students. This pattern of too many C's and fewer grades above C is even more true for dull males in the homogeneous contexts. The rural-and-rural-nonfarm context is the only one in which more than half of the dull boys receive grades below C. There is greater variation by context in the grade distributions of dull females. Dull females in the crosscut-top, crosscut-all, and crosscut-bottom schools make about the same grades as dull females in general. In the balanced-middle context, dull girls make too many A's and B's; in the crosscut-center they get 16 per cent fewer A's and B's than one would expect. In the lower-class context they receive too many C's and too few D's and F's. In the rural-nonfarm-context, dull girls either receive low grades or high grades; they get 17 per cent fewer C's than one would expect.

To summarize these findings, bright students receive better grades than one would expect in the homogeneous contexts and only in the rural-nonfarm contexts do they receive grades much below what one would expect. Dull males tend to receive a disproportionate amount of C's in five out of the eight contexts. There is greater variation in grades by context for dull females. It might be added that high-status dull males receive better grades in all contexts on the average than dull boys in general. This is not true for dull females. Low-status, dull boys receive lower grades than dull boys in general except in the lower class context. Talented low-status boys tend to do about as well as talented high-status boys except that in the crosscut-top and center they do a little better than high status boys and in the crosscut-all and crosscut-bottom contexts they do less well than talented boys in general. It has been shown that data support the first three hypotheses (2a, 2b, and 2c) at the lower orders of partialing but that the relationship between English grade and reading skill is attenuated or even reversed within certain contexts for certain status groups. All the data presented thus far seem to add up to the fact that there are some contexts where nearly everyone receives higher grades than would be warranted by I.Q. and reading skill and that there are other contexts such as the crosscut-top where dull and bright students apparently have a hard time getting A's and B's. When I.Q. is controlled, differences by status within contexts tend to wash out. The context differences in the grade-skill relationship do not weaken much, even when I.Q. is controlled.

Now then, how does one account for the differences in the grade-skill relationship by context reported above. It has been shown that competition in some contexts is tougher than in others, i.e., people with the same scores on intelligence and reading tests receive higher grades than the general population in one context and lower grades in another. Hypothesis 2d has been has been offered: Grading will be tougher in schools which rank highest and lowest with respect to reading skill and intelligence level. It is argued that within contexts in which students are most alike with respect to I.Q. and skill, the teacher must magnify small differences in order to make her grades fit the expectation in our culture that there must be some A's and some F's in every classroom. Ranks of contexts according to intelligence and reading achievement scores are presented in Table VII-8. The data which have been presented in Table VII-7 lead one to the conclusion that on the whole, both dull and bright subjects tend to be overgraded in the homogeneous contexts. Grading is generally tougher in the crosscut schools except that there is some tendency to overgrade in the crosscut-all context. An overall view of the data suggests that grading is probably tougher in the crosscut-top context than in any other context, vis-a-vis I.Q. and reading skill. Grading is also tougher in the rural-and-rural-nonfarm context. However, the peculiar distributions of grades within this context suggests that other factors are operating which do not operate within the urban context. In any case, this is another context which crosscuts the class structure. Thus, one must reject Hypothesis 2d that grading is tougher in the homogeneous schools at both ends of the class structure. Rather, the converse is true, grading is toughest in schools which crosscut the class

TABLE VII-8: -- RANKS OF SCHOOLS WITH RESPECT TO KUHLMANN-ANDERSON AND STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT READING TEST SCORES

Context	Upper & Upper Middle Class Schools	Balanced Middle Class Schools	Cross-cut-Top Schools	Cross-cut-Center Schools	Cross-cut-All Schools	Cross-cut-Bottom Schools	Predominantly Lower Class Schools	Rural and Rural Non-farm Schools
Kuhlmann-Anderson I.Q.	1	2	3	5	4	7	8	6
Stanford Achievement	1	3	2	4	5	6	8	7

structure. It is of special interest to note that the crosscut-top context is the one in which the grading is toughest and that it is the students with low and middle ascribed status in this group that are primarily disadvantaged, considering their level of intelligence and reading skill!

Other questions were raised during the opening remarks of this chapter. Do teachers take motivation into account in awarding good grades? Are high and low motivation differentially rewarded or punished within the various contexts? Hypothesis 2e has been offered that in contexts where grading is tougher, the teacher places a greater emphasis on motivation. Some tentative answers to these questions can be obtained from tables shown in this chapter, if one is willing to accept certain assumptions given at the beginning of this chapter. While it is difficult to infer anything about the motivation of students throughout the population, it seems reasonable that subjects with high I.Q. scores and reading skill below grade level could be considered as low in motivation; subjects with low I.Q. scores and reading skill above grade level could be considered as high in motivation. Now, let us examine what kind of grades these two groups receive within different partials by sex, ascribed status, and context. Some of the data is taken from Tables VII-4, VII-5, and VII-7 and combined in Table VII-9 so that high and low motivation groups may be conveniently compared. The percentage distributions of English grades for all high-I.Q. males and females and for all low-I.Q. males and females in the study population are given in this table as standards of comparison for poorly and highly motivated subjects respectively.

Examination of Table VII-9 leads to several inferences. First, one notes that highly motivated males do considerably better than low I.Q. males in the general population while highly motivated girls do no better than the general population. This suggests that girls in general are highly motivated to begin

TABLE VII-9: -- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH GRADES FOR "LOW" AND "HIGH" MOTIVATION GROUPS BY SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND CONTEXT

Sex	Socioeconomic Status or Context	Low Motivation			High Motivation		
		Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C	Grade < C	Grade C	Grade > C
	Sex and Status*						
Males	High SES	0	20	80	(10)	(50)	(40)**
	Middle SES	20	37	43	28	38	34
	Low SES	14	36	50	24	44	29
	Total	20	35	45	26	42	32
All high I.Q. males		9	24	67			
All low I.Q. males					36	46	18
Females	High SES	4	18	78	(0)	(0)	(100)
	Middle SES	3	29	68	23	46	31
	Low SES	0	39	61	(25)	(50)	(25)
	Total	3	31	66	18	50	32
All high I.Q. females		2	11	87			
All low I.Q. females					22	43	35
	Sex and Context***						
Males	Up. & Up. Middle	(0)	(60)	(40)	--	--	--
	Balanced Middle	(0)	(20)	(80)	(20)	(60)	(20)
	Crosscut-Top	33	30	37	28	44	28
	Crosscut-Center	(0)	(89)	(11)	0	73	27
	Crosscut-All	8	31	61	(45)	(22)	(33)
	Crosscut-Bottom	(30)	(30)	(40)	21	42	37
	Lower Class	(0)	(0)	(100)	20	40	40
	Rural & R.N.F.	36	21	43	(67)	(22)	(11)
Females	Up. & Up. Middle	0	23	77	--	--	--
	Balanced Middle	(0)	(33)	(67)	(0)	(0)	(100)
	Crosscut-Top	4	39	57	(45)	(22)	(33)
	Crosscut-Center	(0)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(100)	(0)
	Crosscut-All	0	33	67	(0)	(80)	(20)
	Crosscut-Bottom	0	34	66	(0)	(40)	(60)
	Lower Class	(0)	(0)	(100)	(0)	(67)	(33)
	Rural & R.N.F.	12	19	69	(25)	(75)	(0)

* Source Tables VII-4 and VII-5.

** Parenthesis indicate N = Less than 10.

*** Source Table VII-7.

with. Thus, the fact that girls tend to receive higher grades at given levels of intelligence and reading skill may be due to a basic sex difference in motivation (i.e., the teachers perceive this greater motivation and reward it accordingly). It is true that poorly-motivated males receive lower English grades than poorly-motivated females, but the relative difference in proportion of A's and B's received between high-I.Q. students in general and poorly motivated students is about the same for both sexes.

When sex and ascribed status are both controlled, one finds that middle and low-status boys who are poorly motivated tend to be graded well below the standard for high-I.Q. boys in general, but that poorly motivated high-status boys receive better grades than high-I.Q. boys in general. Highly motivated boys do much better than low-I.Q. boys in general, especially high-status boys who are highly motivated. The highly motivated low-I.Q. boys do about as well when it comes to English grade as poorly motivated high-I.Q. boys. All poorly motivated girls receive lower grades than high-I.Q. girls in general but the girls in this group with high ascribed status come closer to receiving the kind of grades which high-I.Q. girls receive. Highly motivated, high-status girls all receive B's but other highly motivated girls tend to receive slightly lower grades than low-I.Q. girls in general. Thus, low motivation as it is operationally defined in this study adversely affects the grades of middle and low status subjects more than it does the grades of high status subjects. High motivation, as operationally defined affects the grades of males more than females.

What happens to grades vis-a-vis motivation within the various contexts? One finds that poorly motivated males receive grades which are considerably below the standard in the crosscut-top, crosscut-center, crosscut-bottom, and rural-nonfarm contexts and grades somewhat above average in the homogeneous and the crosscut-all contexts. Highly motivated males receive better grades than one would expect (using the above mentioned standard) in the crosscut-top, crosscut-center, crosscut-bottom, balanced-middle, and lower-class contexts. Highly motivated males get grades below standard in the crosscut-all and rural nonfarm contexts. Poorly motivated females also get grades below standard in the crosscut-top, crosscut-center, crosscut-bottom and rural-nonfarm contexts. They receive grades above standard in two of the three homogeneous contexts (exception—the balanced middle context). Highly motivated females make above standard grades in the balanced-middle, crosscut-bottom, and lower-class contexts; they make below standard grades in the crosscut-top and rural-nonfarm contexts.

From these results one might conclude that motivation at least for these restricted groups is closely connected with what kind of grades boys receive in the crosscut contexts. The same is true to a lesser extent for girls. Within the homogeneous contexts both boys and girls tend to be overgraded whether their motivation is high or low. In the rural-and-rural-nonfarm context, boys and girls are graded below standard regardless of motivation. These data tend to confirm Hypothesis 2e (excepting the rural-nonfarm context). That is, motivation is important within the contexts where grading is tougher—namely, the crosscut schools. Generally, highly-motivated *subjects in the crosscut schools receive better grades than highly motivated subjects in the remaining contexts and poorly motivated subjects receive lower grades than poorly motivated subjects in other contexts*. It should be noted, however, that the converse is true for highly-motivated females in the crosscut-all context.

Summary and Conclusions

An attempt was made in this chapter to study the interrelationships between *grades* awarded by English teachers, *reading skill* and *intelligence* as measured by standardized tests, *sex*, ascribed socioeconomic *status*, and social class *context*. Hypotheses were offered that grades vary directly with female sex, reading skill, high ascribed status, and inversely with the homogeneity of school context.

Sex difference. That girls make higher English grades than boys is a cliché. However, it is important to note that girls possess no better reading skill than boys, yet they receive "the lion's share" of A's and B's. The picture is further complicated by the fact that girls score higher on the intelligence test than boys. Thus, the paradox is apparent that girls in public schools enter the competition for grades with a higher I.Q. than boys, do no better than boys in reading skill, yet they receive higher grades than boys.

The hypothesis was offered that girls are more highly motivated to excell in scholarship than boys. This difference could result from the higher value which boys place on athletic prowess as a means to prestige and success (but this aspect is not tested here). It is only possible to make inferences about level of motivation within certain male and female subgroups--given the limitations of the data presented here. However, within these few subgroups with are operationally defined as being either high or low in motivation, the sex difference in grades is greatly diminished. Highly motivated boys receive as many A's and B's as highly motivated girls.

Ascribed status difference. Previous research has shown that lower status children receive poorer grades, have lower I.Q.'s, and are less motivated than middle status children who in turn do less well than upper middle and upper status children. Findings of this study confirm that these differences exist at the zero order of partialing, i.e., lower-class subjects make lower English grades and I.Q. scores, and are more likely to be poorly motivated (given the operational definition of low motivation used in this chapter). If analysis is halted at this point, this study would be nothing more than replication of previous tests of these relationships. The contribution of this chapter lies in the examination of what happens to students who are equal with respect to intelligence and reading skill (but unequal in ascribed status) when it comes to handing out the grades within various school contexts.

One question is: "Admitting the lower-class handicap with respect to entering the competition for grades (lower verbal facility--hence, lower scores on intelligence and reading-skill tests), what kind of grades do lower class students receive vis-a-vis middle and upper class students at the same level of intelligence and reading skill? One finds that while students with higher ascribed status still make somewhat higher grades, the relationship is attenuated and *that differences by sex and intelligence are more important than ascribed status in determining what proportion of the good grades persons will receive at a given level of reading skill*. In one comparison the anomaly is observed middle and low status females with low intelligence who are poor readers make better English grades than females in these subgroups who are good readers. At the other end of these dimensions, high status males with high I.Q.'s who are poor readers make the same proportion of A's and B's and fewer D's and F's than males in this subgroup who are good readers. Thus one is led to the conclusion that, under certain conditions in the total system, grades are independent of achievement!

The difference in grades by ascribed socioeconomic status was also tested in a different manner. The question is raised as to how students with low ascribed status have fared within different arenas of competition for grades? The focus of this study is on differences in the social class origins of the student bodies of the schools where the competition for grades takes place. Do lower status students do better when the competition takes place in a school were nearly all the other students are lower status? -- or in a school where nearly all of the other students are upper class? -- or in a school where the students are mixed with respect to class origins?

What do the grade distributions look like in school contexts which crosscut the class structure versus contexts in which students are homogeneous with respect to ascribed status? Can one infer anything about how school milieu affects the way in which teachers apportion grades? For instance, is it apparently harder for teachers to grade on the basis of what the student actually achieves (as indicated by standardized reading score) when subjects are homogeneous with respect to class origins? The data were examined for answers to these questions.

Comparisons are made within the various school contexts and it is found that grading is more severe (grades are lower, given the students' skill) within certain contexts in which students have heterogeneous class origins. That is, within these contexts which crosscut the class structure, subjects received English grades which were below what the total population of the study received at given levels of reading skill! This was most apparent in those contexts in which students were drawn from all levels of socioeconomic status but in which there was an overrepresentation of subjects from families with "white-collar" occupations (the crosscut-top and crosscut-middle contexts). It is in these schools (rather than the predominantly lower class or crosscut-all contexts) that the "blue-collar" boy or girl of average intelligence is at the greatest disadvantage. Lower class boys and girls tend to receive better grades than their reading skill would warrant in both the homogeneous low and high status contexts.

This finding about context variation should have important implications for Albert K. Cohen's hypothesis that lower class boys are judged by middle class standards within the school as a social system.[3] Data presented in this study suggest that the bulk lower class children in the urban setting are not "judged against all comers" but rather they are compared with other lower class children since most of them attend schools which are predominantly lower class or in which lower class and working class students are overrepresented. The results indicate that *many of them receive better grades than they deserve* (given their reading skill). If the working class boy feels deprived, it can not be attributed to differential treatment by the teachers vis-a-vis how they grade middle-class students in these contexts. Working class boys are most likely to be undergraded given their skill when they attend schools which cross-cut the class structure in which "white-collar" students are overrepresented. One would assume that these are the schools that relative deprivation would be most keenly perceived. If one follows Cohen's causal sequence--strain of being forced into an unfair competition leads to feelings of insecurity, frustration, etc. which in turn leads to acceptance of the delinquent solution--then delinquency (or the delinquent subculture) should be manifest at this point where the structural sources of strain are greatest. This is not the case, however. Schools which have the highest rates of court-recorded delinquency, self-reported delinquency, and of career-oriented delinquents are predominantly lower-class schools or crosscut schools in which "blue-collar" subjects are over-represented.

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[3] Cohen, *Delinquent Boys*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

It is interesting to note, however, that at this point in the social structure where relative deprivation is greatest with respect to grades, such gang delinquency as does exist involves lower middle and working-class boys doing the malicious and non-utilitarian acts which Cohen describes. The gang delinquency of lower-class boys in lower-class schools is more utilitarian and businesslike. It is the lower-class and middle-class boy in that context where the strain is greatest who participates in the unplanned, highly aggressive, highly destructive type of delinquency. This latter group constitutes a relatively small proportion of all working class boys or of all gang delinquents.

Context and motivation differences. It was originally predicted that students were more likely to be undergraded within homogeneous class contexts. The data which have been presented lead to rejection of that hypothesis and show that the converse is true. Results indicate that teachers overgrade in the two high-status homogeneous contexts and the homogeneous lower-class context, while teachers in heterogeneous contexts in which "white-collar" subjects are overrepresented often undergrade. Such data as are available with respect to motivation leads to the conclusion that teachers in these two heterogeneous contexts attach greater weight to motivation. In the homogeneous contexts, students tend to be overgraded whether their motivation is high or low. At this state of the investigation, one can merely speculate as to why this should be true. Perhaps teachers within the homogeneous high-status contexts are able to give special attention to the pitifully few low-status children in their classes. Even the obtuse teacher would find that clothing and speech make one or two lower-class children in a classroom of thirty of an upper-class school stand out as needing special attention. As one moves down the ladder to the crosscut-top and crosscut-center contexts, the problem becomes one of allocating scarce resources (teacher's time and individual attention) in a situation where there are too many lower-status children, yet not enough to "lower the curve" that serves as a standard for the teacher's grading. Within this situation the teacher is forced to "treat all comers as equal," due to lack of time to re-evaluate grades on the basis of lower status handicaps (what must seem *to her* a subjective factor). The available data indicate that within this highly competitive context (and where is competition greater than among those who are near the top of status heap but have not made it?) *if any* subjective factor is considered above and beyond actual performance, it is *motivation*, not social class origin.

Chapter VIII

The Measurement of Delinquency

There is considerable disagreement among social scientists about socioeconomic status differences in the amount of hidden delinquency, court recorded delinquency, and disagreement concerning the validity of the latter as an index of the former. One side argues that delinquency is primarily a lower class phenomenon, often citing juvenile court statistics.[1] Others say that court statistics may be biased, that the middle and upper-class persons may be as delinquent as the lower class persons or at least that higher status persons are considerably more delinquent than the statistics would indicate.[2] Albert K. Cohen argues that there is a qualitative difference in the kind of delinquency which lower class subcultural delinquents commit as opposed to middle class delinquents.[3] This chapter is devoted to examining socioeconomic status differences in the amount and quality of delinquency and court treatment of delinquents.

Due to limitations inherent in the particular kind of multipurpose sample of interview cases, certain inferences about the quality of middle versus lower class delinquency are facilitated at the expense of a more precise estimate of incidence of hidden delinquency in the population. For example, middle class nonconformers and delinquents are over-represented in the sample of interviewees in order to secure more information about this group. Given this kind of bias, the focus of the chapter is primarily on the quality of deviant acts and court treatment. However, the data for the questionnaire population of 8,826 white males who were classified according to high, middle, or low socioeconomic status permit some inferences about prevalence of hidden delinquency vis-a-vis court record.

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[1] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941) p. 376; William Karavaceus, "Juvenile Delinquency and Social Class," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 18 (1944) pp. 51-54. Maud A. Merrill, *Problems of Child Delinquency* (New York, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1947) pp. 76-88.

[2] Austin Porterfield, *Youth in Trouble* (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946) and James S. Wallerstein; C. J. Wyle, "Our Law Abiding Law Breakers," *National Probation* (March-April, 1947) pp. 107-112; F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, and V. J. Olson, "Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior" in *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958) pp. 23-33.

[3] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955) p. 160.

Previous research primarily involving subjects who had some contact with welfare and other social agencies (hence, lower status subjects) in a metropolitan area suggests that a considerable difference exists between number of delinquent cases reported to the court by these various social agencies and the number children brought to the court.[4] Another purpose of this chapter is to explore social status differences in who is more likely to be apprehended, arrested, and held for court hearing. Also, if a delinquent is held for court hearing, does he get an official or unofficial court record according to his ascribed social status as well as according to the seriousness of the offense? The question is also raised as to whether or not there is any correspondence between the offense with which the delinquent is charged, the extent of his hidden delinquency, and the kind of court record he receives (official or unofficial). If there is some correspondence does it vary by the socioeconomic status of the defendant? Any conclusions about juvenile court selectivity will apply only to this one jurisdiction, Davidson County.

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[4] Edward E. Schwartz, "A Community Experiment in Measurement of Juvenile Delinquency," Yearbook of the National Probation and Parole Association (1945) pp. 157-181.

The chapter is divided into two parts, the first part is concerned with describing ten syndromes of conforming or deviant behavior which were used to classify the interviewees into ten subtypes. Attention is directed to qualitative differences in the delinquency of these subtypes and to probabilities of apprehension for each type. The second part is concerned with procedures of one juvenile court regarding intake procedures vis-a-vis hidden delinquency and socioeconomic status.

Ten Conforming or Deviating Behavioral Types and Delinquency

In Chapter II the subsample of white boys who were interviewed was described. Only 154 of these cases were drawn as a random sample from the white male population. Of the remaining 954 cases that were interviewed, the majority are either sociometric choices of the original random cases, or a supplementary group of random cases selected from strata of conforming and deviating types of behavior or they were selected from special subgroups of delinquent deviators. This total population (while including more than one in 10 of the white boys up to age 17) should not be thought of as providing reliable estimates of parameters for the universe of white boys. Rather, the population is used here to examine differences among subgroups of conformers and deviators rather than to estimate the size of such differences.

The entire interview population was classified into ten subtypes of conformers or deviators. The basis of the classification is a syndrome analysis. Each subtype is distinguished from other subtypes by the particular cluster of variables. The dimensions within these variables are not exhausted in the creation of the 10 subtypes, however. The following variables are used in the formation of clusters: (1) socioeconomic status (lower versus middle-upper status) based on father's occupation and area of residence; (2) evidence of achievement, particularly the orientation in school based on achievement and performance test scores or grades and, the teacher's rating of academic motivation in school work, and the educational and vocational aspiration level of the boy and the expectations his parents hold for him in his vocational choice; (3) whether or not sociometric choices are reciprocated; (4) whether or not time is spent with peers in the evening and the nature of the situation and kind of supervision; (5) the presence or absence of delinquent offenses in the boy's life history together with the nature of their content; (6) the presence or absence of delinquent offenses and the nature of their content among his sociometric choices; (7) the teacher's rating of the boy's behavior in the school and the community.

Chart VIII-1 briefly outlines the ideal typical characteristics for defining each of the ten conforming and deviating subtypes. Actual classification was based on a judgement that the boy "fits the syndrome" or "cluster of attributes." A few words might be said about the classification system. Strictly speaking, status may not be a "variable" factor in the classification but simply a control factor which might be introduced in examining variation within the types of conformers and deviators. The major reason why we did not define a lower versus a middle and upper status Hyperconformer for example is that we would have too few cases for analysis. The same reason applies to the failure to differentiate among conforming and nonconforming isolates in respect to their status.

Originally, too, it was hoped to classify some of the boys as participants in a delinquent gang with a delinquent subculture. This classification was to be based on the operationalization of the characteristics of the content of the delinquent subculture set forth by Cohen. Cohen characterizes the content of the delinquent subculture as having a non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic

CHART VIII-1: -- CLASSIFICATION OF TEN TYPES OF CONFORMERS OR DEVIATORS BASED ON SEVEN PRINCIPAL CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION

Type of Conformer or Deviator	Socio-economic Status Position	Achievement Orientation	Reciprocation of Sociometric Choices	Is Time Usually Spent with Peers in the Evening and Where	Evidence of Delinquent Offenses and Their Content for Boy	Is Evidence of Delinquent Offenses and Their Content for Sociometric Choices Same	Teacher's Rating
Organized Career Delinquent	Lower	Usually Low Never High	Usually	Always & No Supervision	Serious Offenses &Versatile Content	Same	BP or T
Lower Status Peer Oriented Delinquent (Corner Boy)	Lower	Usually Low Never High	Usually	Always & No Supervision	Less Serious Offenses but Versatile Content	Same	PM or BP, Seldom T
Lower Status Conforming Nonachiever	Lower	Usually Low Never High	Usually	Not Generally & if so in conforming situations	Minor Delinq. Occasionally, Few Serious	Same	PM and C
Lower Status Conforming Achiever	Lower	Usually High Never Low	Usually	Not High Frequency, but if so in conf. situations	Few Minor, No Serious	Same	C
Middle Status Peer Oriented Delinquent	Middle-Upper	Usually Low Never High	Usually	Always & No Supervision	Some Serious & Versatile Content	Same	BP or T
Middle Status Conforming Nonachiever	Middle-Upper	Usually Low Never High	Usually	Not Generally If so, in conf. situations	Some Minor, No Serious	Same	PM and C, Few BP
Middle Status Conforming Achiever	Middle-Upper	Usually High Never Low	Usually	Not Generally if so, in conf. situations	No Serious	Same	C
Hyperconformer	Any Level	High	By Hyper-conformers	Seldom	No Minor or Serious	Same	C
Nonconforming Isolate	Any Level	Not Applied	Difficult to Choose friend & Not Reciprocated	Never	Minor and/or Serious	Not Applied	BP or T
Conforming Isolate	Any Level	Not Applied	Difficult to Choose friend & Not Reciprocated	Never	No Minor or Serious	Not Applied	C, or PM/C

emphasis, having a versatile content to the delinquent offenses, and having the group autonomous, rather than the individual.[5] Both in the pretests of the questionnaire and also in the final test form, an attempt was made to operationalize these constructs of the delinquent subculture. But we failed to develop measures which would differentiate only among boys in delinquent gangs. What we found was that a relatively large proportion of boys and, in some cases, of girls in other organized groups, would have to be classified as hedonistic, malicious, negativistic and so on by our measures. We therefore rejected these as criteria for classifying boys as subcultural delinquents. Cohen of course does not maintain that *all* boys in a delinquent gang would accept these values, only that most probably would. He also argues that it would be true only for lower status boys. Furthermore, his theory is a theory of *how the subculture comes into being*. Though he also maintains these same reasons are primarily responsible for its maintenance through time, this restriction poses additional problems for measurement. Since too many lower status boys and particularly girls who were known to be in groups other than delinquent gangs endorsed our operational measures of Cohen's subcultural criteria, we abandoned these as criteria of classification.

The question could be raised whether or not failure is solely an operational one. We have reason to believe it is not. Cohen's criterion are somewhat poorly defined and tend to merge with one another--a factor which, incidentally, he also recognizes. Secondly, the organization of the group is an important factor which subcultural criteria do not take into account. And, thirdly, the opportunity to enter a gang with a subcultural delinquency orientation might naturally leave a great many persons with a subcultural potential outside any organised group. These and other factors led us to reject Cohen's criteria as a basis for classifying boys as subcultural delinquents.

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[5] See Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-32.

Our "most delinquent" person is called the Organised Career Delinquent. This type of delinquent belongs to a gang where one of the main activities is delinquency and where the boy's achievement tends to be measured by his proficiency in attainment of delinquent goals. The boy himself pursues delinquency as a career.[6] We suspect that Cohen would recognise most of the boys in this class as delinquent boys in a gang with a delinquent subculture but we are not able to demonstrate that this is the case. From a sociological perspective, however, we are not as interested in maintaining that the gang has a subculture as we are in identifying the social characteristics of the delinquent boys and their organization. These are the delinquents who pursue a career of delinquency within the context of an organised group of career oriented delinquents. We did not find any example of the career-oriented delinquents in organised groups among the middle and upper status boys so that this type is not represented in our population. Cohen would maintain that the delinquent subculture which he describes would not occur among middle-status boys because the delinquent subculture is a reaction formation of lower-status boys against middle-status values.

The Peer Oriented Delinquent is essentially peer directed in his activity. In contrast with the career oriented delinquent, the boy who is in a peer oriented delinquent group does not have as a goal the continuation of delinquency into an adult career of crime. Though the boys may "band together" in organised acts of delinquency, the delinquency is not viewed as a primary goal of the peer-oriented delinquent. As Cohen says of the "corner boy," his delinquency occurs primarily as a consequence of the pursuit of other goals of the group. He is truant not because he wants to flout the goals about attending school but because schooling is not generally valued as a cultural goal. This type occurs among both lower and middle status boys and is the principal kind of middle-status group delinquent. There are some differences between the two status subtypes, however.

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[6] The idea of the career delinquent was developed at considerable length by Clifford Shaw in a number of his writings. See Clifford R. Shaw, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.

The conformers are divided into six subtypes. There are the middle and lower status boys who are motivated toward high achievement and those who are not which account for four of the subtypes. The *Hyperconformer* whom we would expect to overconform to social norms and the *Conforming Isolate* are the two other conforming types. There finally is a *Nonconforming Isolate*; "lone delinquents" are placed in this group. A number of these nonconforming isolates are career oriented delinquents but none of them participates in a group of career-oriented delinquents.

One of the criteria used in classifying boys into the ten subtypes of delinquents was his history of delinquency. This history was secured in a personal interview with each boy. The history was introduced with a relatively standardized comment as follows:

> "Most boys have done something at one time or another for which they would have been arrested if they'd been caught. The kind of things that boys do aren't the same in all cities so we would like to find out about boys in Nashville. I'd like to ask you whether or not you've done some of these things and if you were caught or arrested for them. Tell me whether or not you've done any of the following things even if you've done them only once."

If the respondent seemed reticent to respond in these terms other reassurances were given about the confidential nature of it, references to self-involvement in such activities in one's own past, etc. No attempt was made to completely standardize the introduction. Rather, it was seen as an initial common stimulus of "seduction" to reveal confidential information. Other forms of "seduction" were used if they were thought necessary and appropriate including those of the "language of the gutter." In general what has become known as the "Kinsey approach" was followed in securing information on acts of deviation through the interview. The presumption was given that the interviewer thought the respondent had committed at least some of these acts and the obligation was on the subject to affirm or deny it.

Each respondent was asked the following questions in the history:

"Have you ever:
'Taken little things worth less than $2 that didn't belong to you?
'Taken things worth $2 to $50 that did not belong to you?
'Taken things worth more than $50 that did not belong to you?
'Beat up someone so badly that you could have been arrested for it?
'Purposely damaged or destroyed property like throwing stones through windows, cutting tires on a car, wrecking mail boxes or street lights or things like that?
'Taken a car and used it without the owner's permission or his knowing about it?
'Ridden in a car that was taken by someone without the owner's permission or his knowing about it?"

When any of these questions was answered in the affirmative, it was followed by a series of subquestions:

"How often have you done that sort of thing?
"Did anyone ever catch you doing it? How often were you caught? By whom?
"Were you ever arrested when you were caught? What did they do?
"Have you usually done that sort of thing alone or with others? How many usually went with you? What was their relation to you?"

Finally, each subject was asked: "Have you ever done anything else against the law?" If this was answered in the affirmative, an attempt was made to obtain information about the other acts which subjects defined as acts of deviation from legal norms. The most commonly acknowledged deviations in this category were: learning to drive without a learner's permit, driving without a driver's license, hunting or fishing without a license or on posted property; speeding or other traffic violations, getting drunk, sneaking into movies or other places with a paid admission, and gambling. The age at time of each offense was not obtained, largely because it is difficult to get valid and reliable information on this point. We did, however, usually learn whether or not all of the infractions occurred prior to the age of 10 years.

There are also some difficulties in securing valid and reliable information to the questions asked about violation eof legal norms. A substantial minority of boys find it very difficult if not impossible to remember and report the number of times they have engaged in a delinquent act. A differentiating factor among boys in fact is whether or not they are able to remember and report the number of times they have participated in a given kind of delinquent act. Boys with a delinquent career usually are unable to remember or report how many times they have done most kinds of delinquent acts except either the more serious ones or those associated with major points in their career such as arrests or incarceration for offenses. About the only kinds of information these boys are able to supply about the total number of times they have committed a delinquent act is the relatively imprecise one of "lots of times," "at least a thousand times," "almost every day," "every chance I get, which is pretty often," "ever since I was 10 or so," and so on. By way of contrast, although most boys admit to committing delinquent offenses, a majority believe they can report the total (at least so far as we are able to judge) number of times they have been delinquent or committed each kind of act. For this reason, we are inclined to think that it is not possible to precisely measure the amount of delinquency for a boy if that measure is based on his memory and report of it.

There are other problems in securing comparable information from boys which will be both valid and reliable as measures of delinquency. An affirmative answer to the question whether the boy has violated any of the legal norms listed above may provide comparable information in a very technical sense only. Of the 1008 boys in Table III-8, three per cent admitted to only what were classified as "Halloween infractions." The only violations they could remember as ever having committed were acts such as those of shooting firecrackers or by damaging or destroying property by "soaping windows," "scattering leaves," "tipping over garbage cans," and similar acts of depredation on Halloween eve. There were "tricks" rather than "treats." Such acts are certainly not defined in the same way in the folkways as are other acts of destruction of property. They are the "shades of James Whitcomb Riley."

Almost six per cent of all boys gave responses which were classified as "good-boy-only" infractions. A common response here was a "yes" to petty thievery, but this "yes" is hardly comparable with that of many other boys. For example Carl E.... said, "I took a pencil from school one time but I don't know whose it was..." and Glen B.... remarked, "When I was four years old, I took some crackers from the lady's house next door and I went home and I was eatin' em, but they caught me and made me go back and say I was wrong." Leonard H.... offered, "When I was a little boy, I took a red fire engine from the boy next door.....but, they made me take it back....and, I've never done anything like that again." Most of these infractions occur before the boy is 10 years of age although some occur after age 10. A common infraction after age 10 is represented by the following comment of a boy, "I once rode half fare after my twelfth birthday" or, "My father took the car out into the country and let me drive without a learner's permit" (Statistics on learner's permits would show that large numbers of boys and girls learn to drive a car without applying for them, even under the situation where driver-education courses are offered in almost all of the schools which these boys attend). A "yes" to "beat up someone so badly you could have been arrested for it" brought forth, "My friend and I got mad at each other and I hit him and his nose bled." These violations against the legal norms of society perhaps can be more easily seen as acts necessary to the socialization of boys and girls to become conformers. We learn to become conformers by comitting acts of nonconformity for which our behavior is negatively sanctioned by others. These acts generally occur at crucial points in the development of the personality--the early stages of conscience development and the transitional stages to adolescence.

For thirteen per cent of the boys, acts "against the law" were committed before they reached the age of 10 years. Most of these acts were acts of depradation against property either by destroying or taking "little things." It was difficult to maintain this category independent of the category "good-boy infractions only." The main difference between the two is that the "good boy" tended to have only one or, at the most, two such acts, while the "minor-infractions-when-a-little boy" offender usually had engaged in a number of acts some of which,however,might have been officially defined as petty thievery if the boy were caught. However,no juvenile court probably would invoke official sanctions in any of these cases regardless of the class origins of the boys. Illustrative of the responses of boys which were classified as "minor infractions before 10 years of age" are the following:

> "I swiped bubble gum twice" (Rene G...)
>
> "I took a bicycle chain from a boy but only after he had busted one of my tires and I took it right in front of him" (Marvin L...)
>
> "One time when I was at home and I was five or six or so, I played on the bed and momma laid a dollar on the bed and I kept it......Daddy talked to me about it...."

All of these are responses to "Taken little things worth less than two dollars that did not belong to you." Few, if any, judges will adjudge a boy under age 10 a delinquent for committing these acts.

If we add to these three classes of deviators, the 10 per cent of all interviewers who acknowledged no acts of deviation whatsoever, about 32 per cent of all the boys interviewed seem clearly to be cases which almost any juvenile court would "refuse" to handle at intake regardless of the status origin of the boy. There is considerable evidence in the comments of all of these boys that if the act became known, it was handled by parents, teachers or other adults in the community as a constructive learning experience for the boy. Such acts did not generally come to the attention of the police. When they did, the police dismissed them with a reprimand. Now of course in terms of "horseback legal opinions" these could be defined as acts of delinquency, but no court probably would reach a decision even to treat the boy as "an unofficial case," if it were referred. The fact is such cases are generally not referred to juvenile courts regardless of the status origin of the boy.

Almost another third of all boys interviewed (30 per cent in Table VIII-1) were "guilty" by their own admission of "minor infractions" against the law since they reached 10 years of age; some even reported very recent instances of minor infractions. Many of these minor infractions were traffic violations for speeding, driving a motorbike without a license or running a stop light. Others reported getting drunk, gambling, taking things worth less than $2, or damaging property. One boy, for example related:

> "You know we went to this music festival down in Memphis and I forgot my tie clip. Well we needed one to sing in the chorus (everyone's got to wear one) and I didn't want to spend any of my money for that, so we all went to the dime store and I took one.....I thought about sending it back........" (Bill M...)

Less common is the response to "beat up someone so badly that you could have been arrested for it," but an example of the type of comment offered here is the following by Jerald B....

> "I knocked a boy out by hitting him with a shoe, but he was bigger than I was....."

These boys also frequently mention purposeful destruction or damage to property--"knocked out window lights," "shot out street lights," "pushed over garbage cans," etc.

The acts violating legal norms for this third of all boys are generally handled "unofficially" if they reach a juvenile court. Often the police or a juvenile bureau handles such cases. Somewhat more than a third of the interview subjects gave evidence of a more protracted history of delinquent acts. The largest proportion of these were boys (20 per cent) who had a protracted history of what might be called minor acts of delinquency--petty thievery, destruction of property, minor assaults on persons, traffic violations, drag racing, truancy, loitering and curfew violations, etc. Illustrative of the history of this type of boy is the history of William G....

> "I've taken things worth less than two bucks maybe 12 or 13 times. (like what?) like a pocket knife, pencils, rulers, a ball point pen, cuff links and once a billfold." (More than $2)--mostly clothes, but not too often, little things--socks and things like that--a swin suit once. (damaged or destroyed property) five or six times I guess when they suggested I go along (what did you do?) like shootin out street lights...(other things) A woman called the police once and they told us to get on home (reports driving) I ain't got no license."

The difference between the delinquent with "major and minor offenses, but emphasis on minor" (hereafter called minor-major offenders) and the boy with "primarily major delinquencies" (hereafter called major-minor offenders) is a little difficult to determine since two factors must be taken into account. These boys provide only very crude estimates of the volume of their delinquency, particularly when there is a long history of delinquent acts. In the course of his delinquent career, it frequently is the case that major acts tend to replace minor acts of delinquency as the kind of act which one undertakes. Many kinds of minor acts which once were undertaken, now would not be undertaken, even though these past acts may have been a very large proportion of the delinquency of the boy. This distinction, therefore, refers primarily to the more recent history of the delinquent--what he has been doing lately, though it is recognized age differences influence this form of classification.

An example of a delinquent with a minor-major record is that of John F.... John takes things from stores "whenever I get the 'chanct' (sic)," but he has only stolen something worth more than $50 once--a bicycle. An example of a boy with a major-minor record is Joe C.... Joe can't remember how many times he has taken things worth less than two dollars ("Lotsa times--but I growed out of that"). He thinks he has taken things worth $2 to $50 many times--"at least 50" like, "clothes, cigarette lighters, watches, hub caps, and things like that." He can't remember either how often he has taken things worth more than $50, but it includes: "onc'd a motor bike, a coupla cars... radios for awhile, some guns and ammo." He likes to "..fight spics uptown," and he "don't do things like that no more" in response to "the destruction of property" query. He says he has been "picked up five or six times for drinking, fighting and things like that." He is at the state training school for boys for armed robbery and grand larceny ($565).

There are several very important differences in the delinquency history of boys with protracted histories of delinquency. Some boys begin to "specialize" in major acts of crime. In the early life history of the delinquent these boys usually have a lengthy history of petty larceny, malicious destruction of property and often of fighting as well. As the boy moves along in his career he still may do considerable fighting but more and more he defines the other acts of delinquency as "beneath him." In the words of the boys we interviewed, they are "chicken shit" or, "I just growed out of that," or, "that's stuff for kids" or simply, "I don't do that kinda stuff no more." These acts are given low esteem in the peer society and if one is to maintain his "rep," he cannot maintain it with such acts. The other factor of importance to the career of this boy is that it is almost as difficult for him to recount what he has taken, when and how often he has done it, as it is for another boy to say what it is that he had for dinner the past five years. Delinquent activity is part of a way of life--a life style--and the simple question of when did you do what, does not capture the scope of this life style. The boy lives in a career world--a world in which his acts become of considerable importance to his standing within a group. Highest standing in this world goes to the boy who engages in acts of violence. The top leader in the SMA for example is Danny S... whose "peak" was reached when his gang "took on the Marines" and Danny stabbed and almost mortally wounded a Marine (had he killed him, Danny's career would have been different for he would have graduated to the penal world of adult criminals). Auto theft, armed robbery, and grand larceny become the more esteemed acts for these boys. The gang requires liaison with fences to get rid of stolen property, and more and more they also move toward liaison with the world of the adult. Older delinquent and criminal figures are selected as friends by the leaders of these gangs, and they no longer choose their fellow gang members.

Table VIII-1 shows the extent to which boys in each of the ten types of conforming-deviating syndromes were classified in terms of the seven types of delinquent deviation. To analyze the table, however, it must be kept clearly in mind that while the classifications were made independent of one another, so that no boy is classified simultaneously or by the same person on both of the criteria, the criteria of classification are not independent of one another. For example, the commission of serious offenses is a basis for classification as a career-oriented delinquent as Chart VIII-1 shows. Despite this lack of independence for the criteria of classification, examination of Table VIII-1 shows some important relationships between the self-reporting of delinquent acts in terms of the kind of infractions which characterize their behavior and the type of conformer or deviant subgroup in which they are classified. The brackets in Table VIII-1 show the kind of act which characterizes two-thirds or more of

TABLE VIII-1: -- TYPE OF DELINQUENT DEVIATION IN CASE HISTORY BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Delinquent Deviation	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class				All Classes		
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
No Acknowledged Deviation	5.5	0.6	10.8	13.6	--	--	11.9	41.1	--	26.8	9.9
Good Boy Infractions	--	--	4.4	9.9	--	2.3	7.3	26.8	--	19.5	5.7
Halloween Only Infractions	--	--	4.8	3.7	--	--	6.7	5.4	--	--	3.1
Minor Infractions Under 10 Yrs. Old	--	3.6	14.0	24.7	2.6	1.2	25.4	17.9	8.3	19.5	13.1
Minor Infractions Since 10 Yrs.	4.1	13.3	41.6	40.7	5.3	31.4	44.0	8.9	20.8	34.1	29.8
Protacted History of Minor Delinq.	10.9	42.8	20.8	7.4	21.0	51.2	4.1	--	33.3	--	20.4
Major and Minor Delinq.: More Minor	10.9	36.7	2.8	--	50.0	11.6	--	--	29.2	--	11.1
Primarily Major Delinq. Now	68.5	3.0	0.8	--	21.1	2.3	0.5	--	8.3	--	6.9

the boys in each of the conforming-delinquent subgroups. These aggregated proportions were obtained by combining the largest proportions for types of delinquent deviation until two-thirds or more of each conforming delinquent type is included in the aggregated proportion.

There is a marked degree of similarity in the pattern of acts characterizing both lower- and middle-upper status Conforming Achievers. Two-thirds or more of the Conforming Achievers at each status level engaged in minor delinquencies for which the incidence is quite low in their life history of deviatory acts. The Conforming Nonachievers include more of the boys with protracted histories of minor delinquency among middle than among lower status Nonachievers. And the middle-upper status Peer-Oriented Delinquent is more likely to include boys from major-minor than minor-major backgrounds than is the Peer-Oriented Delinquent subgroup of lower status origins. These status subgroup differences may be due to the fact that none of the middle-upper status boys seemed to fit the classification for Career-Oriented delinquent gangs. In the lower status world, more of the boys with major-minor records are in Career-Oriented groups. Even Hyperconformers showed more of a tendency to report minor infractions than one might anticipate, though in none of these cases is the infraction anything but what one might term a very minor one as for example when one of them thought he exceeded the speed limit (he, therefore, is classified as having a minor infraction since 10 years old). While only a minority of all boys probably will fail to acknowledge some infractions of the law in their life history, in general it seems clear that Conforming types probably would not be classified as delinquents by the official procedures of most juvenile court. The major "gray group" probably is that of the Conforming Nonachiever, particularly when the boy in this subgroup has a history of protracted delinquency. It should be emphasized, however, that this population of 1008 boys is in no sense a random sample of a universe of adolescent white boys. Without a doubt more of the boys in the universe would be in the conforming categories than are represented in the tables in this chapter. Despite the limitation this places on interpreting the data to provide experience rates for the population, the findings about differences between types of conformers and deviators should be reasonably stable (though not their magnitude) given our criteria for selecting the interview cases. Thus, we would expect that a random sample from the universe would show that the majority of Hyperconformers either committed no infractions against the law or only what are called "good boy" infractions, if their self-reports are accepted as valid indicators of infractions. Similarly, we would expect that the pattern of delinquent deviation characterizing each subgroup of conformers and deviators in Table VIII-1 would hold for a random sample of each subgroup if such a sample were obtained.

A separate tabulation shows that 77 per cent of the 1008 white boys have neither an official nor an unofficial juvenile court record. About four per cent had a record of traffic offenses only, two per cent a record of truant only offenses, and 17 per cent a record for all other offenses. Later in this chapter we shall show two additional relationships. One is that almost every boy with a juvenile court record reported some act violating the legal norms of society. This is not a surprising finding since most boys admit to such violations even if only "good boy" or "Halloween only" infractions as we have shown above. The second fact is a more important one however--almost every boy with a juvenile court record reports that he committed as serious or in most cases a more serious offense than the one for which he was brought to the court. Now, if we accept self-reports as valid indicators of the most serious offense the boys has committed (which is the basis for our classification in Table VIII-1) and, if we then assume that boys with a major-minor or a minor-major record of delinquency would generally be treated as delinquent by officials of the juvenile court if these boys were brought to their attention, then we must conclude that there is a considerable proportion of "hidden delinquency" in the population. The proportion of boys with major-minor and minor-major records in the interview population is 38 per cent. If this is compared with the 17 per cent who were brought in for "other-than-traffic" or "truant-only" offenses (and, more likely, either a protracted history of major or minor offenses) then, for this group at least, more than twice as many could have been adjudged as delinquent. Such a statistic should not be applied to the general population of adolescents however since this is not a random sample of all adolescents. The comparison simply serves to demonstrate that there is considerable hidden delinquency in the population.

The following percentage distribution of boys in each conforming or deviating syndrome of behavior was obtained for a random sample of 158 white boys however:

Lower Status:	
Career Oriented Delinquent	1.3
Peer Oriented Delinquent	4.5
Conforming Nonachiever	31.3
Conforming Achiever	11.0
Middle Status:	
Peer Oriented Delinquent	1.3
Conforming Nonachiever	4.5
Conforming Achiever	29.3
No Status Assigned:	
Hyperconformer	5.8
Nonconforming Isolate	0.6
Conforming Isolate	10.4
Total	100.0

There is a fair amount of sampling unreliability attached to these estimates since the 151 cases are but a two-per-cent random sample of the population of boys, ages 10 to 16. Nonetheless, several conclusions can be drawn from these data: (1) There is more delinquent deviation in the lower than in the middle-upper stratum according to self-reports of delinquent deviation. This is true when the comparisons are made for only Career and Peer-Oriented delinquents at both status levels as well as when the Conforming Nonachievers are included in the comparisons. In fact the differences are considerably larger when the Conforming Nonachievers are included. (2) The major type of lower status boy is a Conforming Nonachiever while the major type of middle status boy is a Conforming Achiever. This finding is very much in keeping with that assumed in the writings of social stratification theorists. (3) There are proportionally almost as many Hyperconformers (5.8 per cent) as there are Career and Peer Oriented delinquent deviators at both status levels (7.1 per cent). (4) Conformers are more likely to be isolates than are nonconformers. The differences in this respect are in fact very large and lend credence to the view that at least so far as delinquency is concerned it is a group phenomenon. Social isolation therefore appears very unlikely to carry with it delinquent deviation as a "solution."

Table VIII-2 shows the self-reported delinquency record of boys in each of the conforming-deviating syndromes of behavior. Of the 1008 white boys who were interviewed, fewer than one in 10 does not report a record of "things done against the law." This is to be expected given, as we have seen, that boys report Halloween infractions and deviations from norms in their early childhood as "acts against the law." Yet there is substantial variation within each socioeconomic status subgroup in the proportion reporting no acts against the law. Almost two of every five hyperconformers by their own definition report they committed no acts against the law. The reliability of the classification of conforming-deviating types is apparent in that a much larger proportion of the delinquent types have a versatile content to their acts (stealing, assault, destruction of property and all other reported types) than do the

TABLE VIII-2: -- DELINQUENCY RECORD BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Record	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
No Record	--	0.6	10.4	13.6	2.6	--	11.4	37.5	--	24.4	9.1
No Stealing, Assault or Dest. of Prop.	1.4	1.8	3.6	3.7	--	1.2	3.6	14.3	--	4.9	3.4
Stealing, Assault, & Dest. of Prop.	28.8	30.1	45.6	71.6	7.9	26.7	50.8	39.3	37.5	48.8	41.5
Stealing, Assault. Dest. of Prop.	69.8	67.5	40.4	11.1	89.5	72.1	34.2	8.9	62.5	21.9	46.0

conforming types. Still, if one ignored the fact that many of these self-reports of "acts against the law" would not be officially or unofficially treated as delinquency by juvenile court officials, there would appear to be a substantial amount of hidden delinquency even among boys who are called Hyperconformers in our classification system.

Table VIII-3A presents a percentage distribution of boys who never engaged in the types of delinquent activity secured in the life history for boys in each of the conforming and deviating types of conduct. Table VIII-4 presents a brief profile based on these data showing how the conforming-deviating subtypes are differentiated from one another in terms of the extent to which various types of delinquent acts are committed by boys in that subtype. The per cent of boys in the subtype must be significantly above or below that expected, given the per cent of all boys reporting the act, for it to be considered a profile characteristic. Again the reader must keep in mind that the classification of the conforming-deviating subtypes is not independent of the knowledge of the delinquency history of the boys. To a substantial degree therefore this simply represents a measure of the reliability of the classification. Nonetheless, the comparison is important in the sense that it shows there is considerable variation in the reporting of acts against the law within both major socio-economic status subgroups for types of conformers and deviators. Comparison also shows that lower and middle status conformers and deviators have certain similarities as well as differences when expected and actual percentage distribution are analyzed in this way.

To begin with more than 6 of every 10 boys who are classified as Career Oriented delinquents acknowledge committing all six types of offenses at least once. It should be particularly noted that the two most serious types of offenses--larceny of an auto and larceny of more than $50 and/or armed robbery-- are

TABLE VIII-3A: -- PER CENT OF BOYS WHO NEVER ENGAGED IN SELECTED TYPES OF DELINQUENT ACTS BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Delinquent Act	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Petit Larceny	8.2	10.8	31.6	37.0	2.6	12.8	30.0	66.1	8.3	51.2	26.1
Larceny: $2 - $50	23.3	48.8	86.0	97.5	21.0	66.3	94.8	100.0	54.2	97.6	74.3
Grand Larceny $50 +	36.9	86.1	99.2	100.0	73.7	97.7	99.5	100.0	83.3	100.0	91.3
Assault	34.2	74.7	90.8	96.3	47.4	88.4	95.3	100.0	87.5	97.6	84.2
Dest. of Prop.	13.7	19.9	38.0	46.9	18.4	18.6	53.4	75.0	16.7	63.4	37.1
Auto Larceny	38.4	86.7	97.2	98.8	78.9	88.4	98.4	100.0	91.7	100.0	90.3

TABLE VIII-4: -- PROFILE OF CONFORMING-DEVIATING TYPES OF WHITE BOYS BASED ON PER CENT ACTUALLY DEVIATION FROM EXPECTED PROPORTION OF DEVIATORS[1/]

Conforming-Deviating Syndrome	Per Cent Reporting Deviation					
	Stealing Under $2	Dest. of Property	Stealing $2 to $50	Assault	Stealing $50 & Over	Auto Theft
Lower Status						
Career Oriented Delinquent	92	86	77	66	63	62
Peer Oriented Delinquent	89	80	52	25		
Conforming Nonachiever			(14)	(9)	(1)	(2)
Conforming Achiever	(63)	(53)	(2)	(4)	(--)	(1)
Middle-Upper Status						
Peer Oriented Delinquent	97	82	79	53	26	21
Conforming Nonachiever	87	81			(2)	
Conforming Achiever		(47)	(5)	(5)	(1)	(2)
No Status Distinction						
Nonconforming Isolate	92	83	46			
Conforming Isolate	49	37	(2)	(2)	(--)	(--)
Hyperconformer	46	25	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)
Per Cent Expected	74	63	26	16	9	10

[1/] The expected proportion of deviators is the rate for the population. Per cents significantly below are enclosed in parentheses while those significantly above are reported without parentheses. Based on data in Table VIII-2.

reported as having been committed by a majority of only the Career Oriented delinquent boys. The relative frequency with which these offenses are committed tend to set off a large segment of lower from middle status delinquents.

Among Peer Oriented delinquents, it appears that there is not too much socioeconomic status variation in the reporting of whether or not petty offenses and malicious destruction of property have been committed at least once, but the middle status Peer Oriented boy more often report they have committed other types of offenses at least once. Perhaps this reflects an inadequacy of the classification scheme in this chapter. Some of these middle status boys may be more career than peer oriented. We suspect however that this is not altogether the case. For middle-status boys who are members of groups which engage in delinquency, the content of the delinquent acts seems more versatile or diversified than it is for lower status boys. This difference may arise from a difference in their basic value orientations. Lower-status Peer Oriented boys do not largely share the middle status goals of middle status boys even though they internalize some of them. Delinquency for them may be a consequence of this ambivalence toward middle status values or a functional consequence of the selection of alternate goals. For middle status Peer Oriented boys, delinquency appears to represent more of an aggressive acting-out. They are in this sense more like the subcultural delinquent of Cohen than like the Peer-Oriented lower status boy.

Conforming Nonachievers are more likely to engage in petty theft and destruction of property at least once when they are located within the middle than within the lower stratum of our society. This finding is in keeping with the sometimes stated view that many middle status boys have acted out by pilfering small objects or by destroying property. Nonetheless, it also is the case that middle status Conforming Nonachievers are somewhat more likely to commit all types of offenses at least once than are lower-status Conforming Nonachievers. Bear in mind that "conforming" in this syndrome does not mean an absence of deviation but conforming in the sense of conventional conformity. Deviation is confined to the minor offenses which two-thirds or more of the population has done at least once. In many cases, of course, these deviations represent only very minor infractions, as Table VIII-1 shows on examination. Yet, conventional conformity in our society means in some sense an "occasional deviation" from these norms.

The Conforming Achievers seem also to be somewhat "more conforming" in the lower than in the middle stratum. At least more of the middle than of the lower-status Conforming Achievers are "guilty" of delinquent deviation at least once in almost each category of offender according to their self-reports of "acts against the law." We have seen above, however, that proportionally more of the middle- than of the lower-status boys are Conforming Achievers.

The Conforming Isolates and Hyperconformers are fairly similar in their life histories. Still almost one-half of these boys admit to some form of petty larceny at least once. It will be recalled from Table VIII-1, though, that this is most likely to represent "good-boy" infractions or minor infractions before 10 years of age. From other data in this study we know that these boys are more likely to recall such incidents from their past and feel guilty about them than are boys from any other conforming or deviating subtype.

Nonconforming Isolates resemble Career-Oriented and Peer-Oriented delinquents in their record of petty thievery and destruction of property but they are (generally) only as likely to engage in the more serious offenses as is the population as a whole.

It can be seen in Table VIII-4 that petty thievery (under $2) is done at least once by the largest proportion of boys within each conforming or deviating type of adolescent boy including hyperconformers. There follow in proportionate frequency: malicious destruction of property, stealing from $2 to $50, assault, stealing $50 or more, and auto theft. This rank order within each conforming or deviating subgroup suggests that this set of items might form a Guttman scale of "delinquency proneness." They do not form even a quasi-scale. One of the main reasons for this perhaps is the fact that there are several variable dimensions in a set of such items: seriousness of the offense, content of the offense, opportunity to commit the act, and so on. For example, assault often occurs (at least so far as the boy's definition of it is concerned) without having stolen anything of $2 to $50 value. On the other hand there are a substantial number of boys who have stolen things worth more than $50 who report they never have been involved in an act of assault. This pattern of behavior seems to make at least "common-sense."

Attention has been called to the fact that it is difficult to obtain reliable and valid estimates of the frequency with which particular kinds of delinquent acts are committed. This seems particularly to be the case for boys who have a protracted history of delinquency. Recognizing this problem an attempt was made to determine whether the boy's behavior in respect to a given kind of "act against the law" could be classified in one of four major categories of frequency: never committed; committed only once; committed two to twelve times (a tendency to report, "about a dozen times" led to the selection of this upper limit) and, frequently (more than 12 times). There undoubtedly is unreliability to such estimates. Table VIII-3A reported the frequency with which particular kinds of acts are committed for the dichotomy which we accept as most reliable--never committed and done at least once. Tables VIII-3B, 3C and 3D present tabular information for each kind of "act against the law" for the three categories of frequency: only once (Table VIII-3B), two to twelve

TABLE VIII-3B: -- PER CENT OF BOYS WHO ENGAGED ONLY ONCE IN SELECTED TYPES OF DELINQUENT ACTS BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Delinquent Act	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Petit Larceny	8.2	18.1	22.0	28.4	--	9.3	25.4	19.6	20.8	29.3	19.7
Larceny: $2 - $50	6.8	19.3	8.0	1.2	5.3	13.9	3.1	--	16.7	2.4	8.2
Grand Larceny $50 +	9.6	9.0	4.0	--	10.5	1.2	0.5	--	8.3	--	3.1
Assault	10.9	10.8	7.6	3.7	21.0	8.1	2.6	--	8.3	--	6.9
Dest. of Prop.	9.6	13.2	22.8	28.4	--	15.1	16.6	19.6	37.5	14.6	17.8
Auto Larceny	13.7	9.6	1.6	--	7.9	8.1	1.0	--	4.2	--	4.3

TABLE VIII-30: -- PER CENT OF BOYS WHO ENGAGED IN SELECTED TYPES OF DELINQUENT ACTS 2 TO 12 TIMES BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Delinquent Act	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Larceny Less Than $2	38.3	51.2	42.8	33.3	44.7	57.0	42.5	14.3	50.0	19.5	42.0
$2 to $50	24.6	26.5	5.2	1.2	60.5	16.3	2.1	--	20.8	--	12.1
$50 or More	27.4	3.0	--	--	10.5	1.2	--	--	4.2	--	3.1
Assault	37.0	12.0	1.2	--	26.3	3.5	1.6	--	4.2	2.4	6.7
Malicious Dest. of Prop.	35.6	45.2	34.0	21.0	47.4	47.7	26.9	5.4	25.0	21.9	32.9
Auto Theft	32.9	3.6	0.8	--	7.9	2.3	0.5	--	4.2	--	3.9

TABLE VIII-3D: -- PER CENT OF BOYS WHO FREQUENTLY ENGAGE IN SELECTED TYPES OF DELINQUENT ACTS BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Delinquent Act	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class				All Classes		
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer-Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer-Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Petit Larceny	45.2	19.9	3.6	1.2	50.0	20.9	2.1	--	20.8	--	12.1
Larceny: $2 - $50	45.2	4.8	0.4	--	10.5	3.5	--	--	8.3	--	5.0
Grand Larceny $50+	26.0	0.6	--	--	2.6	--	--	--	4.2	--	2.2
Assault	17.8	1.2	0.4	--	2.6	--	--	--	--	--	1.7
Dest. of Prop.	41.1	21.7	5.2	3.7	31.6	18.6	3.1	--	20.8	--	12.0
Auto Larceny	15.1	--	0.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2

times (Table VIII-3C) and frequently (Table VIII-3D). Despite the questionable stability of these estimates for a number of reasons, including the fact that actual frequencies are smaller in some conforming-deviating subgroups than others, these comparisons are informative. Whether or not a given act of deviation actually is committed with greater relative frequency in one conforming-deviating subgroup than in another, there are substantial differences in self-reports of such deviations in terms of our fourfold frequency classification.

The reader can examine in detail the variation in frequency with which given kinds of acts are committed within each conforming deviating subgroup in Table VIII-3. Discussion is here confined largely to the "committed only once" and "committed frequently" categories. The criterion of frequency was not taken into account in arriving at the classification into conforming and deviating subtypes so that classification in these tables is altogether independent.

None of the Hyperconformers or Conforming Isolates reported that they frequently had committed any kind of "act against the law" included in Table VIII-3D. Only petit larceny under $2 and destruction of property offenses were acknowledged as occurring two to twelve times for any of the boys in these subtypes (except for a single case reporting an assault for a Conforming Isolate). At least 80 per cent of all Hyperconformers and Conforming Isolates either never committed any of the acts of larceny under $2 or destruction of property or committed them (at most) only once. If this were the actual extent of their deviation, and if we accepted as fact that most of these acts of deviation occurred at a very young age or as "good-boy infractions," deviation from these norms of person and property is extremely low for these boys even as they become socialized as conformers. This then can be considered as a validation measure for these classes of conformers.

Only the classes of deviators (Career-Oriented and Peer-Oriented delinquents and Nonconforming Isolates) have a fairly substantial proportion of boys who admit to frequent violations of the personal and property norms in Table VIII-3D. And, in fact, only the Career Oriented delinquents have a substantial minority of boys who _frequently_ engage in grand larceny, whether of money or of automobiles. The minor offenses such as destruction of property and petit larceny also are engaged in frequently only by the deviators. Conformers and particularly Conforming Achievers do not engage in any of the major or minor offenses with a high degree of frequency. Even for the offenses of petit larceny and destruction of property, fewer than four in 100 Conforming-Achiever boys report they do such acts frequently. The same relationship is found for the "two-to-12-times" category of frequency of violation. Conformers, of course, are not very likely to commit any of the offenses in Table VIII-3 other than that of petty larceny and destruction of property.

If we think of the conventionally conforming boy in the United States as either achievement or nonachievement oriented toward success, we know that the lower-status male conformer is most likely to be a nonachiever while the middle-status one is likely to be achievement oriented. So far as personal and property norms are concerned, we also can see that the conventional conformer is a person who from time to time has committed acts which are legal violations of personal and property rights (at least as a matter of legal _opinion_--only a court of competent jurisdiction returns a _finding_ of a legal violation). Such deviations are confined to relatively minor types of infringement of the legal rights of others and they are not engaged in with a high degree of frequency. Only a minority of the population appears to exhibit a pattern of behavior where delinquency is versatile as to content, the minor acts of deviation occur with high frequency, and the more serious acts of deviation occur at least once.

Acts of delinquent deviation occur with a sufficient frequency in the population so that one is inclined to describe the case analogous to that of the deviation involved in drinking alcoholic beverages. Most people will at least have "had a drink" at some time in their life, usually (if at no other time)--- they will have tried it when they were a young boy or girl. Men are much more likely to drink than women. There are some fairly "heavy drinkers" with a sizeable minority having been "drunk at least once." The prevalence of alcoholism is fairly low however (though it may rise and fall over time). Social reality and not "nature" is the major criterion for determining when one is "drunk" or an "alcoholic" just as it is for determining when one has committed a "serious" crime or is adjudged a "delinquent."

Delinquency is essentially a group activity. A majority of all delinquencies are actually committed in group situations. Many others are committed alone but in response to group pressures. Table VIII-5 shows the number of associates each boy reported he usually had in the offenses which he committed. Percentage distributions are provided for each type of conforming or deviating subgroup. It is quite apparent that delinquent deviators are much more likely to commit acts of delinquency in a group setting than are conformers. Let us look for example at the offense of petit larceny. Organized-Career and Peer delinquents show rates for committing offenses alone at or below that of all boys. This is also true for the middle and lower status Conforming Nonachiever. But the rates for other conformers and the nonconforming isolate are considerably higher. Several factors induce variation here, however. Middle-status delinquent deviators are less likely than lower status ones to commit offenses alone. We have noted before that the middle-status boy seems more other-directed--to commit his offenses in response to peer pressures more than does the lower status boy. For this reason we sometimes refer to the lower status type as "Peer-Oriented" and the comparable middle-status type as "Peer-Directed."

TABLE VIII-5: -- NUMBER OF ASSOCIATES[1] IN DELINQUENT OFFENSE BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Usual Number of Associates	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer-Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer-Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Totals:											
Less Than $2	61	147	168	49	35	74	133	19	22	20	728
$2 to $50	51	83	33	(2)	28	27	(9)	*	(10)	(1)	244
$50 or More	43	21	*	*	(9)	(2)	*	*	(3)	*	78
Assault	45	38	21	(2)	19	(10)	(8)	*	(3)	(1)	147
Dest. of Prop.	57	127	145	38	28	67	85	(14)	19	(12)	592
Auto Larceny	40	20	(7)	*	(6)	(9)	(3)	*	*	*	85
Alone:											
Larceny: Less Than $2	31.1	23.1	35.1	49.0	17.1	18.9	41.3	68.4	45.4	50.0	33.5
$2 to $50	9.8	20.4	24.2	(0.0)	17.8	18.5	(33.3)	0.0	(40.0)	(0.0)	19.3
$50 or More	9.3	23.8	*	*	(22.2)	(0.0)	*	*	(33.3)	*	15.4
Assault	8.9	18.4	42.8	(50.0)	36.8	(50.0)	(38.5)	*	(66.7)	(0.0)	25.8
Dest. of Prop.	8.8	6.3	7.6	13.1	0.0	1.5	9.4	(27.3)	10.5	(8.3)	7.4
Auto Larceny	10.0	10.0	(14.3)	*	(33.3)	(22.2)	(0.0)	*	*	*	12.9
One:											
Less Than $2	1.6	2.7	3.0	4.1	0.0	4.0	3.0	5.3	9.1	5.0	3.2
$2 to $50	7.8	3.6	6.1	(0.0)	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	3.7
$50 or More	16.3	0.0	*	*	(11.1)	(0.0)	*	*	(0.0)	*	10.3
Assault	2.2	5.3	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	2.0
Dest. of Prop.	0.0	3.9	2.7	0.0	0.0	1.5	2.4	(0.0)	5.3	(0.0)	2.2
Auto Larceny	10.0	10.0	(0.0)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*	*	7.1
Two or More:											
Less than $2	44.3	61.9	54.2	44.9	54.3	68.9	48.1	15.8	36.4	40.0	52.7
$2 to $50	64.7	67.5	69.7	(100.0)	75.0	70.4	(66.7)	0.0	(40.0)	(100.0)	67.6
$50 or More	65.1	71.4	*	*	(66.7)	(100.0)	*	*	(66.7)	*	67.9
Assault	82.2	65.8	57.1	(50.0)	57.9	(50.0)	(62.5)	*	(33.3)	(100.0)	66.7
Dest. of Prop.	86.0	84.3	84.8	81.6	96.4	94.0	84.7	(72.7)	78.9	(91.7)	86.0
Auto Larceny	77.5	80.0	(85.7)	*	(66.7)	(77.8)	(100.0)	*	*	*	78.8

TABLE VIII-5: -- NUMBER OF ASSOCIATES[1] IN DELINQUENT OFFENSE BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME (continued)

Usual Number of Associates	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class				All Classes		
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Alone or Associates:											
Less Than $2	23.0	12.2	7.7	2.0	28.6	8.1	7.5	10.5	9.1	5.0	10.6
$2 to $50	17.6	8.4	0.0	(0.0)	7.1	11.1	(0.0)	0.0	(20.0)	(0.0)	9.4
$5C or More	9.3	4.8	*	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*	(0.0)	*	6.4
Assault	6.7	10.5	0.0	(0.0)	5.3	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	5.4
Dest. of Prop.	5.3	5.5	4.8	5.3	3.6	3.0	3.5	(0.0)	5.3	(0.0)	4.4
Auto Larceny	2.5	0.0	(0.0)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*	*	1.2

* No cases of this type of delinquency reported for this group.

( ) Fewer than 20 cases for percentage base.

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[1] Excludes all cases of no offense in the category.

But this also is true to some extent for the status comparisons for conformers. Middle-status Conforming Achievers and Nonachievers are more likely to commit petit larceny with others than are comparable types of lower-status boys. Middle-status boys, therefore, appear more peer-oriented than lower status boys, regardless of their conformity or deviation (at least so far as committing acts of delinquent deviation are concerned).

Another interesting fact which emerges from these comparisons is that although a higher proportion of isolates than of all boys commit their offenses alone, a substantial proportion of them commit their offenses with two or more others. This might appear to be a contradiction to their classification as isolates. But the contradiction is more apparent than real. These social isolates are essentially isolated in the sense that they are rejected by peers to the extent that they are not considered as members of a group. This is not to say that they either perceive of themselves as altogether rejected or that they never participate in group activity. They do occasionally get involved in delinquencies with other boys their age, particularly when they are at the "fringe" of some group. Other studies suggest that these boys sometimes commit acts of delinquency as a means of gaining status, of getting accepted in a group to which they aspire. And, some isolates may very well gain acceptance this way.

Some offenses clearly are group offenses while others are more likely to be committed alone. Thus auto larceny and destruction of property are clearly group offenses. Table VIII-5 shows on examination that roughly three-fourths or more of the boys in every subtype and 86 per cent of all boys say they destroyed property only when with two or more others (a group of three or more boys) and only 7 per cent on the average said they did it alone. Auto larceny also is more often a group offense than the other types, in that three-fourths or more of the boys in every group other than middle-status, Peer-Oriented delinquents committed the offense with two or more others, and only 13 per cent (on the average) committed it alone. It is the second-most-likely offense to be committed with only one other. Sociologists have discovered that automobiles are not stolen primarily for their value as property but for their value as a means to other short run ends. Thus the car is stolen as a means to some end and then promptly abandoned. It also is true that boys who steal cars know they get "hot" pretty quick and, therefore, "you can't keep them very long." If you need another, take another. There is striking evidence for this group orientation to auto theft in Table VIII-5. Similarly, property destruction is generally not a planned activity or goal of the group. Property destruction often occurs relatively spontaneously when an opportunity is sensed by someone in the group. Even when it appears to be planned, as it often is thought to be in the case of the destruction of school property, the destruction of the school property generally follows as a consequence incidental to the original goal of the group. One group, for example, broke into the school to get some food from the cafeteria or to rob the principal's office and the "orgy of destruction follows" with the extent of the destruction becoming more serious as the orgy proceeds. First things are tipped over, toilets are flooded, and so on; later the fixtures are torn from the wall, ink is scattered, and "total destruction" may follow. When destruction occurs on the playground, it similarly often occurs as elementary collective behavior and not as a calculated consequence of group planning. Old buildings sometimes may be destroyed by a group over a long period of time and even partly as the result of planning. But even in these cases, the situation is not altogether clear. In some cases, the building is sensed as an "opportunity" and from time to time recourse is made to the site at someone's suggestion and destruction follows. But, there is no systematic schedule of destruction. In other cases the building appears to be destroyed because property is periodically taken from the building because it can be sold; in such a case it is more a matter of theft than it is of destruction of property.

The variation in Table VIII-6 is of some interest, however, despite our inability to ascertain the source of the variation. It is clear that delinquent deviators generally are more likely to be apprehended for at least some of their acts of delinquency than are conformers who commit acts of delinquent deviation. Looking, for example, at destruction of property in Table VIII-6, generally about three-fourths or more of all conforming types never were apprehended or arrested for destruction of property while only about two-thirds of the Career-Oriented and middle-status, Peer-Oriented delinquents report they never were arrested for these acts. At the other extreme, if we examine auto-larceny offenses, we again find that despite the small numbers involved, boys in these same subgroups are least likely to avoid apprehension and arrest.

It also is generally true in Table VIII-6 that the more serious the offense the less likely one is to avoid apprehension and arrest. Thus it is hardest to avoid arrest for grand larceny and easiest to avoid it for petit larceny and destruction of property.

Petit larceny is most likely to be committed alone with about a third of all boys in the interview population who admitted to petty larceny, saying they committed it alone. Yet there is considerable variation by conforming and deviating subtype. Among middle status delinquents and conforming non-achievers it is most likely to be a group activity while, it is most likely to have been done alone by Hyperconformers. This latter fact is not too surprising since many of the reports of petty larceny by hyperconforming boys are reports of larceny when they were a preschool boy.

TABLE VIII-6: -- APPREHENSION BY ADULT AUTHORITY BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Apprehension	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Totals:											
Under $2	66	148	171	51	36	75	135	(18)	22	20	742
$2 to $50	55	82	34	(2)	28	28	(11)	*	(11)	(1)	253
$50 or More	45	21	*	*	(10)	(2)	*	*	(4)	*	83
Assault	46	37	23	2	19	(10)	(8)	*	(2)	(1)	150
Dest. of Prop.	61	129	152	41	30	69	88	(14)	20	(15)	618
Auto Larceny	43	21	(5)	*	(7)	(9)	(4)	*	*	*	89
Never Apprehended Or Arrested:											
Larceny: Under $2	62.1	69.6	78.4	80.4	58.3	65.3	77.0	(61.1)	68.2	55.0	71.4
$2 to $50	45.4	74.4	79.4	(100.0)	71.4	71.4	(72.7)	*	(54.5)	(100.0)	67.6
$50 or More	42.2	61.2	*	*	(50.0)	(100.0)	*	*	(50.0	*	50.6
Assault	69.6	70.3	60.9	(50.0)	57.9	(70.0)	(62.5)	*	(50.0)	(100.0)	65.3
Dest. of Prop.	67.2	72.9	78.3	75.6	66.7	84.0	79.5	(85.7)	75.0	(80.0)	76.4
Auto Larceny	37.2	57.1	(40.0)	*	(14.3)	(55.6)	(100.0)	*	*	*	46.1
Apprehension: No Arrest:											
Under $2	12.1	16.2	15.8	17.7	2.8	13.3	17.8	(33.3)	18.2	35.0	16.2
$2 to $50	10.9	12.2	14.7	(0.0)	3.6	14.3	(9.1)	*	(18.2)	(0.0)	11.5
$50 or More	11.1	4.8	*	*	(20.0)	(0.0)	*	*	(0.0)	*	9.6
Assault	6.5	8.1	26.1	(50.0)	21.0	(20.0)	(37.5)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	14.7
Dest. of Prop.	13.1	10.8	13.2	21.9	0.0	4.3	14.8	(14.3)	15.0	(13.3)	12.0
Auto Larceny	9.3	0.0	(40.0)	*	(28.6)	(22.2)	(0.0)	*	*	*	11.2
Apprehension And Arrest:											
Under $2	7.6	3.4	1.2	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	9.1	5.0	2.1
$2 to $50	27.3	13.4	5.9	(0.0)	7.1	3.6	(0.0)	*	(18.2)	(0.0)	13.0
$50 or More	31.1	33.3	*	*	(10.0)	(0.0)	*	*	(50.0)	*	28.9
Assault	15.2	21.6	13.0	(0.0)	10.5	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	13.3
Dest. of Prop.	11.5	2.3	1.3	0.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	2.4
Auto Larceny	32.6	38.1	(20.0)	*	(42.9)	(22.2)	(0.0)	*	*	*	31.5

TABLE VIII-6: -- APPREHENSION BY ADULT AUTHORITY BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME (continued)

Apprehension	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndrome										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Sometimes Apprehended Or Arrested; Sometimes Not:											
Under $2	18.2	10.8	4.7	1.9	36.1	21.3	5.2	(5.6)	4.5	5.0	10.2
$2 to $50	16.4	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	17.9	10.7	(18.2)	*	(9.1)	(0.0)	7.9
$50 or More	15.6	0.0	*	*	(20.0)	(0.0)	*	*	(0.0)	*	10.8
Assault	8.7	5.4	0.0	(0.0)	10.5	(10.0)	(0.0)	*	(50.0)	(0.0)	6.7
Dest. of Prop.	8.2	13.8	7.2	2.4	23.3	11.6	5.7	(0.0)	10.0	(6.7)	9.2
Auto Larceny	20.9	4.8	(0.0)	*	(14.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*	*	11.2

* No cases of this type of delinquency reported for this subgroup.

() Fewer than 20 cases for percentage base.

Whether or not one is apprehended when committing an act against the law and whether or not arrest will follow apprehension is a function of a rather large number of factors so that is is difficult to systematically account for variation in arrest and apprehension. Apprehension depends upon detection and, acts of course vary considerably in their visibility to detection. Thus it probably is easier to apprehend someone for auto larceny than it is to apprehend for petit larceny or destruction of property. And as Table VIII-6 shows on analysis, the highest proportion of "never apprehended or arrested" occurs for destruction of property and larceny under $2 in almost all conforming-deviating subgroups. Apprehension depends not only upon what is taken but how the system of detection is organized. It is very difficult to practically "solve" most crimes by detection methods so that apprehension largely rests on circumstance or situation. Some boys are, therefore, always suspected of having done wrong (and they usually have in the nature of the case) and their apprehension solves a number of "crimes." They weren't apprehended because they were thought to be guilty of a particular crime but they are found guilty of some crimes following their apprehension. In other cases, boys are "caught in the act" or they are apprehended because they "arouse suspicion." This is true whether it is parents, school officials, police, or others who are the agents of apprehension. Arrest involves other factors as well--the decision of whether to officially act on the apprehension versus the alternative, "to give another chance", or, the decision not to report the act so that "arrest could follow"--the police never know, only daddy does.

Self Reported Delinquency and Juvenile Court Recorded Delinquency

The foregoing discussion has hinted that selective factors operate to determine whether or not boys who commit certain kinds of delinquent acts will come before the court and whether or not they will be treated as official or unofficial delinquents. It is well known that what action the court takes is based upon the "seriousness" of the offense. Seriousness is defined in part on the basis of consequences or harm to the victim. Seriousness is also partially defined in terms of the frequency of the offense in the general population. Then, juvenile court-recorded offenses were ranked according to the seriousness which the court ascribes to the offense; self-reported delinquent acts were ranked according to frequency of self reporting within the interviewed populations. Thus one can examine the relationship between the seriousness of the court recorded offense, official and unofficial court action, and the seriousness of the subjects hidden delinquency, i.e., delinquency of the boys appearing before the court that is unknown to the court.

As has been indicated earlier, it is very difficult to gain a precise idea of the quantity of delinquent acts within the population of interviewed boys due to poor recall, etc. Therefore, attention is directed to the quality of the self-reported deviant acts. The degree of deviance of a delinquent act is arbitrarily defined in terms of the number of boys who admit to a given category of delinquent act rather than the total number of times the act has been committed by all members of the population. Boys were asked if they had done anything against the law which fit into one of six categories previously described--ranging from "taken little things worth less than $2", to "taken something worth more than $50" or stealing a car. Boys were then asked if they had done anything else against the law which provided a variety of different acts which did not fit into the six categories-most of which were neither serious (e.g., driving a motorcycle without a licence) nor very frequent. Since, no clear pattern of acts emerged from this vague query, the "other things against the law" category was not ranked. The remaining six categories were ranked according to per cent of boys admitting they had done the acts one or more times:

Most deviant--Grand larceny (8%)
Auto theft (9%)
Assault (15%)
Larceny-$2-50 (25%)
Malicious destruction of property (63%)
Less deviant--Petty larceny-under $2 (74 per cent)

Juvenile-court-recorded acts were ranked from most serious to least serious as follows: grand larceny, auto theft, assault, burglary, malicious destruction, petit larceny, loitering (and miscellaneous acts including delinquency petition), truancy, traffic-speeding or reckless driving, and other traffic. Cross tabulation of juvenile-court-recorded acts versus self-reported deviant acts is presented in Table VIII-7. One can see a general positive relationship between these two measures of deviant behavior. It is important to remember during the interpretation of this table that this table shows only the most serious act for which a boy received a court record and the most deviant act which was self reported. Therefore it is always possible that boys may be apprehended and appear before the court for some offense that is less serious than the most deviant thing that they have ever done. The converse is unlikely, however. There are some boys who are lying [e.g., one boy (4%) out of 25 with a court record for auto theft who says he never did anything against the law].

Obviously, chance for a boy to do something more serious than the court-recorded act diminishes as the seriousness of the court act increases. Taking this factor into account, if would appear that most boys who appear before the juvenile court admit in our interview situation that they have done one or more types of acts which are more serious than the act which brought them to court. Thus, 40 per cent of the boys who appear before the court for a traffic offense actually have done something more deviant than malicious destruction. (While only 24 per cent of the boys with no court record say they have done something more serious than malicious destruction. Sixty-two per cent of the truants and

TABLE VIII-7: -- PER CENT OF EACH TYPE SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY BY JUVENILE COURT RECORD

Self reported Deviant Act / Juvenile Court Record	No Self Reported Delinquent	All Other Things Against the Law	Petit Larceny-Less than $2	Malicious Destruction of Property	Petit Larceny $2-$50	Assault	Auto Theft	Grand Larceny	Total N
Grand Larceny	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	56	11
Auto Theft	4	0	0	4	4	4	52	32	25
Assault	0	0	9	18	18	27	27	0	11
Burglary	0	0	7	13	18	7	31	22	45
Malicious Destr.	0	0	7	43	21	7	14	7	14
Petit Larceny	0	4	4	15	26	37	4	7	27
Loitering & Misc.	0	5	12	27	20	15	10	15	41
Truancy	10	5	5	19	14	10	24	14	21
Traffic Offenses	3	6	6	46	17	9	3	11	35
No J.C. Record	11	4	22	39	11	7	3	3	781
Total (%)	9	36	18	35	12	9	7	6	1010

74 per cent of those with a court record for petit larceny admit that they have done one or more things more deviant than malicious destruction. If a boy has a court record for malicious destruction or assault, the chances are about 50--50 that at one time or another he has done something more serious than the court record indicates. Other factors may influence this relationship.

All of the findings reported in this study up to now indicate that boys with lower socioeconomic status in our society are at a disadvantage in a society where educational opportunities, justice before the law, etc. are supposed to be as equal as possible. There are two questions which may be asked: (1) Is there any difference by socioeconomic status in the kinds of offenses which become a matter of court record vis-a-vis the hidden delinquency which the boy has done? and (2) Is there any difference in the use of official versus unofficial court proceedings by socioeconomic level of the boy?

Let us consider the first question: Is there any variation by ascribed socioeconomic status in the relationship between the most serious act which is a matter of court record and the most deviant self-reported act? The percentage distribution of interviewed boys by most serious self-reported act and most serious court-recorded act or no court-recorded act for three categories of socioeconomic status is shown in Table VIII-8. Given the interviewing procedure with respect to juvenile court cases and boys at the State Training School, it is difficult to compare boys in the high, middle and low status groups with respect to court action versus self-reported delinquency. There are certain age and status biases inherent in the interview procedure which was adopted. However, all of the boys who have a court-recorded traffic offense were from one three-month period of court records. Thus, there is little status bias for this particular kind of offense and it is possible to draw certain inferences for this group. Examination of Table VIII-8 reveals that two of every

TABLE VIII-8: -- PER CENT OF EACH TYPE SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY BY JUVENILE COURT RECORD

Self Reported Delinq. Acts / Juvenile Court Record	No Self Reported Delinq. Act	Other Things Against Law	Petit Larceny Less than $2	Malicious Destruction	Petit Larceny $2-$50	Assault	Auto Theft	Grand Larceny
High SES								
Gr. Larceny								
Auto Theft							(100)*	
Assault								
Burglary					(50)	(50)		
Malicious Destr.				(50)	(50)			
Petit Larceny					(33)	(33)		(33)
Loitering, Etc.			(60)	(20)	(20)			
Truancy								(100)
Traffic				(33)		(33)	(17)	(17)
Middle SES								
Gr. Larceny							(25)	(75)
Auto Theft	(8)			(8)	(8)		(54)	(23)
Assault				(14)	(29)	(29)	(29)	
Burglary	4		11	25	18	4	18	21
Malicious Destr.			(20)	(40)		(20)	(20)	
Petit Larceny			13	13	25	25	44	6
Loitering, Etc.		4	7	29	18	14	14	14
Truancy				(33)	(33)	(33)		
Traffic		5		53	21	5		16
Low SES								
Gr. Larceny							(50)	(50)
Auto Theft						(12)	(25)	(63)
Assault			(25)	(25)		(25)	(25)	
Burglary					18	6	53	24
Malicious Destr.			[illegible]	(38)	(38)		(12)	(12)
Petit Larceny				(29)	(29)	(29)		(14)
Loitering, Etc.				(33)	(11)	(22)		(22)
Truancy	12	12	6	19	6	6	31	6
Traffic	(14)	(14)	(29)	(29)	(14)			

* ( ) Percentage base is fewer than 10 cases.

three high-status boys with a court-recorded traffic violation report themselves as having done something more serious than malicious destruction. Only two out of every five middle-status traffic cases or one out of seven lower-status traffic cases report that they have done something more serious than malicious destruction. Given these meager findings, one can only guess that improper operation of a motor vehicle has a different relationship with respect to the life patterns of low-status versus patterns of high-status boys. One explanation might be that lower-class boys are less likely to have legitimate access to motor vehicles. The more daring and adventurous lower-class boy, if apprehended for reckless driving, is more likely to have also stolen the car in which he is riding. While this is only speculation, it is true that lower-class boys who steal cars has also run the gamut of other deviant acts including traffic violations such as drag racing on the public highways (see the section which follows on versatility of deviant acts). The upper-status boy, on the other hand, is more likely to either have his own car or have access to the family car in which he may speed, drag race, etc. The upper-class boy, less professionalized in his more serious delinquency, may use his own car for delinquent excursions involving petty theft, malicious destruction, etc. At least this is the impression left by the limited number of interviews which were obtained with high-status delinquents (with or without court records). One can say that any court record, regardless of the socioeconomic status of the boy is probably indicative of more extensive delinquency than the record would indicate.

The contention that having any juvenile court record is indicative of more extensive hidden delinquency is sustained by the data pertaining to versatility of deviant acts. It can be seen in Table VIII-9 that boys with juvenile court records for serious traffic offenses, truancy, loitering, larceny, burglary, assault, and auto theft have usually committed offenses in most of the other

TABLE VIII-9: -- PER CENT INTERVIEWEES WITH J.C. RECORD BY VERSATILITY OF CONTENT

Juvenile Court Record	Versatility of Content							Total N
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Grand Larceny	8	0	25	8	25	25	8	12
Auto Theft	4	4	28	6	24	32	0	25
Assault	8	8	25	33	17	8	0	12
Burglary	12	8	38	10	18	10	4	50
Malicious Destr.	18	12	29	29	12	0	0	17
Petit Larceny	23	6	21	26	18	6	0	34
Loitering, Etc.	18	9	30	18	14	11	0	44
Delinq. Petition	0	(50)	(50)	0	0	0	0	4
Truancy	28	4	16	20	20	12	0	25
Serious Traffic	13	13	39	22	9	4	0	23
Other Traffic	8	23	46	15	0	8	0	13
No Delinq. Record	19	32	29	15	4	1	.2	818
Total %	18	26.5	29	16	6	4	.5	1077

categories of self-reported delinquent activity. Notable exceptions are those in court because of delinquency petition, and malicious destruction. Reexamination of VIII-3 suggests that malicious destruction is an activity in which a substantial percentage of low and middle status boys participate in one or more times (but less than twelve times) without participating in the more serious delinquencies. Inspection of Table VIII-9 and Table VIII-10 reveals that malicious destruction is more frequently reported by boys (as the most serious of their acts) than any other single category of offense. Most boys, in our interview sample, are more likely to report nothing more serious than malicious destruction. On the other hand, malicious destruction is unlikely to be the most serious act which brings the boy to juvenile court (only 17 out of 259 boys were in court for malicious destruction). These two proportions indicate either (1) that the society is permissive with respect to malicious destruction by boys--at least to the extent that damages are settled out of court between the victim and the boy's parents rather than seeking an official proceeding, or (2) most boys do not persist in this kind of activity to the extent that they are likely to be apprehended, or (3) both.

It has been shown that some correspondence exists between the kind of activity which brings a boy to the attention of the juvenile court and other kinds of delinquent activity. Now let us consider the second question raised: Is there any difference in the use of official versus unofficial court proceedings by the socioeconomic level of the boy? If one assumes that unofficial court proceeding is to be preferred, given the protection from unfavorable publicity which this proceeding offers, then one would predict on the basis of his disadvantagous position that the lower-class boy would be more likely to receive an official court record while the middle- and upper-status boys would be more likely to be handled unofficially. This should be even more true

TABLE VIII-10: -- MOST SERIOUS SELF REPORTED DEVIANT ACT BY VERSATILITY OF DELINQUENT ACTIVITY WITH FREQUENCY CONTROLLED

Most Deviant Self Reported Deviant Act	Versatility of Content							
	0 & Rej.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total N
				Done More than Once				
Grand Larceny			3	3	15	64	15	34
Auto Theft				23	46	31		13
Assault		3	5	43	41	8		37
Larceny--$2-50			17	71	12			68
Malicious Destruct.		20	73	7				223
Pet. Larceny < $2		99	1					85
Other Things	100							4
				Done Only Once				
Grand Larceny			7	35	35	23		26
Auto Theft		2	51	16	21	10		57
Assault		12	22	40	26			50
Larceny--$2-50		12	7	77	4			56
Malicious Destruct.		34	64	2				132
Pet. Larceny < $2		96	4					100
Other Things	100							32

if a class differential exists with respect to middle-class fear of notoriety, etc. Actually, the general question may be broken down into two questions: (1) How does the court treat boys from different class levels by seriousness of offense and (2) Does this official or unofficial treatment correspond with hidden delinquency which has been self-reported by the boys involved?

First of all, it should be reported that lower-status white males in the total population have a higher rate of court recorded offenses than middle and high-status white males for all categories of offense except traffic offenses. One can see these rates in Table VIII-11. While the percentage differences are small, the reader is again reminded that court-recorded delinquency is a low-incidence phenomenon in the population. One finds that the rate for serious (grand larceny, auto theft, assault and burglary) court recorded offenses is about three times as high for low-status boys as for high-status boys. The rate for petty offenses is half again as high for low-status boys; the truancy rate is twice as high. Only the traffic rate is higher for high-status boys--as one might expect on the basis of previous discussion. Now then, one may question whether or not this difference in juvenile court rates by level of socioeconomic status is merely an artifact of greater incidence of delinquency in the lower classes.

Unfortunately there is no precise measure of the incidence of hidden delinquency in the total population. However, there is one indicator of general deviation that is suggestive with respect to prevalence of hidden delinquency--the quasi-Guttman scale of deviant behavior described in Chapter II. Scale types six and seven on this scale indicate that they have "stolen things more than once" and/or that they "break laws often." One finds that 12 per cent of the high-status boys and 14 per cent of the middle and 15 per cent of the low-status boys are scale types six and seven. Thus, one can assume that there is some

TABLE VIII-11: -- PER CENT OF WHITE MALES WITH JUVENILE COURT RECORDS WITH SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS CONTROLLED

J. C. Record / Socio-economic Status	No J.C. Record	J.C. Traffic	J.C. Truant	J.C. Petty	J.C. Serious	Total N
High SES	94.0	2.8	.05	2.2	.9	1924
Middle SES	91.5	2.7	.3	3.0	2.4	4258
Low SES	90.4	2.1	1.1	3.6	2.9	2644

status difference in prevalence of delinquency. Analysis described at the first of this chapter for the 158 interviews randomly drawn from the total population lends further weight to this assumption.

What are the chances that self-reported delinquents (scale types six and seven) at different status levels in the total population of white males will have a court record? Fourteen per cent of all high status self-reported delinquents, and 22 per cent of all middle and low-status, self-reported delinquents have juvenile court records. The results presented thus far indicate that while lower-status boys are more likely to be delinquent; they are even more likely to end up as a juvenile court statistic. One can assume that lower class boys are more intensely policed, that they are more likely to get caught and the dragnet operations described above suggest this, or that they are less likely to be released with a warning either by citizens, the police or the court. There is some evidence of a different sort to indicate that the last of these three statements may be true.

All boys were asked to indicate on the questionnaire if they had ever been sent to juvenile court. One can see in Table VIII-12 the number and per cent of interviewed boys who indicate that they have been sent to juvenile court, but for whom no official or unofficial court record exists. Now it could be that these boys are merely lying. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that there is a status bias in this group. An alternative to the lying interpretation is that high-status boys may be apprehended, arrested and detained, and then released without recorded official or unofficial court action. Subjects are often brought before the juvenile court on the basis of evidence which would be insufficient if the rules of criminal court proceedings were to apply. The wealthy family is able to hire a prominent lawyer to represent the boy and a vigorous defense is made. The lower-status boy, on the other hand, lacks these

TABLE VIII-12: -- HOW DOES COURT HANDLED BOYS? BY SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF BOY

Self Reported Delinq. and Socioeconomic Status	Say they have been sent to J.C.-No Rec.		Offense: Less Than Theft				Offense: Theft Or More				All Boys Handled by Court
			Unoff. J.C. Rec.		Off. J.C. Rec.		Unoff. J.C. Rec.		Off. J.C. Rec.		
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	
Self Reported-Theft or more											
High SES	17	5	67	8	33	4	25	3	75	9	29
Middle SES	14	19	77	37	23	11	23	16	77	55	138
Low SES	11	14	42	11	58	15	17	16	83	77	133
Total	13	38	65	56	35	30	20	35	80	141	300
Self Reported < Theft											
High SES	100	1		—		—		—		—	1
Middle SES	0	—	100	2	0	—	100	2	0	—	4
Low SES	14	1	33	2	67	4		—		—	7
Total	17	2	50	4	50	4	100	2	0	—	12
All Cases											
High SES	20	6	67	8	33	4	25	3	75	9	30
Middle SES	13	19	78	39	22	11	25	18	75	55	142
Low SES	11	15	41	13	59	19	17	16	83	77	140
Total	13	40	64	60	36	34	21	37	79	141	312

resources and there may be no one to intercede on his behalf before the affair becomes a matter of record. The wealthy family is able to protect its own in other ways. One example of these is a hypothetical case which involves aspects of several cases reported in interviews at an upper-middle status school . Some high-status boys stole several cases of empty bottles from a filling station and they were apprehended red-handed and taken to detention home. Before this case could be heard by the court, the filling station owner was persuaded to change his story of the incident. (Financial pressures were exerted, centering around a business loan which this man had hoped to obtain before the incident occurred). A prominent lawyer was hired and he raised the issue of sufficient evidence. The boys were released. There is no record of several cases which were like this fictitious case in one or more aspects.

Suppose the case does get as far as an official or unofficial hearing. Are lower class boys more likely to receive an official hearing? Data presented in Table VIII-12 suggests that the answer is yes. It can be seen that, for all interview cases involving petty larceny or something more serious, boys at all status levels are more likely to receive an official court record. Boys with low socioeconomic status are more likely to receive court record than middle and upper status boys. This difference is even more apparent when one examines the records for offenses less serious than petty theft; at least two thirds of the middle and upper-status boys receive an unofficial record while three fifths of the lower-status boys get an official record. There are only a few boys with court records whose self-reported delinquency is less than theft. However, the status difference is in the predicted direction for this subgroup.

These results lead to the tentative conclusion that at several stages of the court proceeding a status differential exists. The indications are that lower class boys are more likely to be detained for hearing, that their offense is more likely to become a matter of court record, and when the hearing is held, they are more likely to get an official court record.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the kind or quality of deviant acts as they occur within various subtypes of the adolescent population and with the kinds of sanctions or societal responses which they provoke. Data presented in this chapter are primarily obtained from the interview sample. The white male interviews were divided into ten subtypes, each of which was distinguished by a cluster or syndrome of characteristics. These ten types are career-oriented delinquent, lower-status peer-oriented delinquent, lower-status conforming nonachiever, lower-status conforming achiever, middle-status peer-oriented delinquent, middle-status conforming nonachiever, middle-status conforming achiever, hyperconformer, nonconforming isolate, and conforming isolate.

Confidential data are given concerning the hidden delinquency of boys who fit each of these ten types. Focus is on quality rather than quantity of deviant acts for the subtypes. Some information about quantity of acts were obtained but the more deviant subtypes performed so many deviant acts that they could not give a good estimate of frequency. Conforming achievers in both middle and low-status groups are alike with respect to self-reported hidden delinquency. Middle-status peer-oriented delinquents are more likely to report a combination of major and petty delinquencies. Career-oriented delinquents, on the other hand, specialize in different types of major offenses. Career delinquents give up the petty offenses that consume the attention of peer-oriented delinquents---by the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old, status within the gang is diminished rather than enhanced by this "kid stuff." Experience in all types of delinquency in this group is so extensive that they have only a vague notion of the total offenses that they have committed.

Two independent measures of hidden delinquency--one obtained by mass administered questionnaire and one by interview--indicate that boys with a juvenile court record generally have committed a wide variety of other acts which escape apprehension, arrest, or juvenile court treatment. These two measures also indicate that there is probably a greater prevalence of delinquency in the lower class.

Within the interviewed sample (which has a number of biases) the lower-status boys are more likely to be conforming nonachievers while middle-status boys are more likely to be conforming achievers. There are about as many hyperconformers in the sample as there are career-oriented and peer-oriented delinquents at both status levels put together. One also finds that middle-status peer-oriented delinquency differs from low-status delinquency in that it is less utilitarian and more of the aggressive acting-out type. Nonconforming isolates resemble career-oriented and peer-oriented delinquents with respect to patterns of petty thievery and malicious destruction but they are less likely to engage in the more serious offenses.

Frequency for different categories of deviant acts is examined for each conforming or deviant subtype. Petty thievery (under $2) is most likely to have been done at least once by boys in all "syndromes" (including Hyperconformers). Only the career-oriented, the peer-oriented delinquents, and the nonconforming isolates are likely to admit violation of personal and property norms more than a dozen times. Attempts were made to scale delinquency in terms of seriousness but the information failed to meet the criteria of scalability prescribed by Guttman and others.

Boys were asked to report the number of associates usually involved in each type of delinquent activity. Results parallel previous findings--in this sample the majority of all acts were committed with two or more associates. This is particularly true for the middle-class, peer-oriented delinquent. Some offenses are more likely to be group offenses than others, e.g., auto larceny and malicious destruction.

The limited data which were obtained suggest that probability of arrest varies with seriousness of offense. Petty larceny and property destruction are least likely to be apprehended; auto larceny is most likely to be apprehended. Lower-status boys are probably more likely to be apprehended since they are more liable to "dragnet" operations in which they are picked up for loitering and then interrogated about other activity. Given the probability that lower-class boys probably have a higher rate of hidden delinquent activity, they have a higher rate of court-recorded delinquency than one would expect on the basis of hidden delinquency.

In addition to showing that there is generally some correspondence between the kind of activity which brings a boy to court and the seriousness of his hidden delinquency, it is shown that high-status boys who show up in court for traffic offenses have a higher rate of more serious hidden delinquency than low-status traffic offenders. This suggests that appearance in court is determined by other factors such as socioeconomic status rather than the seriousness of the hidden delinquency pattern. It is also shown that whether a boy receives an official or an unofficial court record is status linked. The status difference holds whether the offense with which the boy is charged is a minor or a major offense.

A tentative conclusion follows from the material presented in this chapter that the low status boy is more likely to be apprehended, more likely to be held for juvenile court treatment, his act is more likely to become a matter of court record, and the record is more likely to be official rather than unofficial.

Chapter IX

The Social Integration of Queers and Peers

A major form of deviating behavior in our society is that referred to as sex delinquency. Quick examination of the classification of sex delinquency reveals that there are a large number of behaviors classified as sex delinquency--premarital or heterosexual intercourse, pedastry, and fellation for example. Investigations of these behaviors among males have largely focused on the psychological characteristics of adult persons who engage in types of deviating sex behavior or on estimating the incidence, prevalence or experience rates of deviant sex behaviors for various social groups in the adult population. Except for descriptive studies of the social organization of female prostitution, there is little systematic research on the social organization of deviating sexual activity, particularly for youthful deviators. This chapter reports an exploratory investigation of the social organization of the relationship between "delinquent peers" and adult "queers" together with some description of the social characteristics of adult male fellators or "queers" and delinquent entrepreneurs.

The description and analysis which follows could be viewed as an investigation into some aspects of male prostitution in our society. Indeed what is described in this chapter is the organization of a business relationship between a prostitute and a client, but in a very special sense. The investigation reported in this chapter deals altogether with the delinquent boy 'prostitute' of adult male "queers" or "gay trade" as they are known among these adolescents. The use of the term male prostitution here requires some elaboration since both conventional and scientific use of the term carry certain ambiguities for our discussion.

The social relationship to which reference is made in this chapter is first of all (1), a homosexual relationship between an adult male and a young boy, usually a delinquent. The organized relationship involves (2), a financial transaction in which the adult male pays the adolescent a sum of money in return for (3), a sexual transaction in which the adult male is the fellator.[1] This sexual transaction is one in which (4), the boy has no self-conception of himself as a homosexual or sexual deviator in any sense but he views the adult male as a sexual deviator--"queer" or "gay boy". Though on occassion the queer may attempt other sexual activities, (5), all transactions but that of fellation lie outside the boys cultural definition of the relationship.

It can be pointed out here then that the formal distinctions in the analysis of female prostitution have their parallels in this special case of prostitution. For example, a female prostitute is generally defined as one who provides sexual gratification in return for a sum of money provided by male clients. Here we refer to a situation in which young males sell gratification to a special class of sexual deviators--the adult male fellator. We are dealing then with but another form of a sexual transaction which is a part of the general transaction called prostitution in our culture. The young males are the prostitutes and the adult queers the clients. Yet, as we shall see below the organization of this relationship has its special aspects as a form of prostitution apart from its homosexual form.

There has been relatively little investigation of the sociological aspects of the adolescent boy--adult fellator relationship. Studies of homosexual sex deviation in single sex communities have, of course, contributed to our understanding of the fellator and in some cases of the clients as well, e.g., the studies of "married couples" in adult male prisons. There also are reports of sexual deviation such as "punking", "slick-laying" and "G's" which occur in most "training school" for delinquent boys. But all of these studies deal with the organization of the activity under a special circumstance of a single-sex community. Very little is known about such activity as it is organized in many of the nuclear communities of American Society.

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[1] Fellation here refers exclusively to the mouth-genital form of fellation.

There have been a number of recent studies which provide a discussion of some of the organizational features of this form of male prostitution. The two most important of these are Butts' investigation of "boy prostitutes" and Ross's study of the "hustler" in Chicago.[2] Ross distinguishes three types of male 'hustlers': (1) the *bar hustler* who usually visits bars on a steady basis in search of queer clients; (2) *the street-hustler*, usually a teen aged boy who turns "tricks" with older men; and (3) the "call-boy" who does not solicit in public.[3] He notes that the street hustler has the lowest prestige among other hustlers, partly because his is the more hazardous and less profitable form of activity. For this reason Ross observes they usually become bar hustlers when they are able to pass in bars as of legal age.

While the boys we interviewed in our study could be considered a form of the street-hustler, they are a very special case of the street-hustler, so that we are not inclined to consider them the same as the street-hustlers Ross describes. The street-hustlers which Ross describes are career-oriented;

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[2] William Marlin Butts, "Boy Prostitutes of the Metropolis", *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology*, 8(1946-47) 673-681 and H. Laurence Ross, "The 'Hustler' in Chicago", *The Journal of Student Research* 1(September 1959) 13-19.

[3] Ibid., p. 15

they move toward bar hustling as a career. For the delinquent boys in this study, hustling, when it occurs, is a transitory activity both in time an space. Very few of our boys are true street-hustlers. Furthermore, the most important aspect of their role is that these delinquent boys do not define themselves in a hustling role. Most of these boys "get a queer" only as a substitute activity or as part of a versatile delinquent activity. This very important difference in their conception of themselves, together with the commonly shared definitions of when one "gets a queer", serve to insulate these boys from a hustler role--from street "hustlers" on the one hand and "punks" on the other.[4]

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[4] Punks would seem to be a special type of hustling role commonly found in institutional organizations for delinquent boys.

The shared view of hustling held by these boys is that (6), hustling is an acceptable substitute for "legitimate" delinquent earnings or activity. Although the sexual transaction itself may occur in a two person or a larger group setting (usually one queer and a boys gang), (7), the cultural definitions governing the sexual transaction are usually learned from peers in the delinquent gang. Furthermore, in many cases (8), induction into the "queer culture" occurs through the delinquent group. For these reasons, we shall speak of these boys as Peer Hustlers. The term is simply intended to convey the idea that learning the prescribed form of behavior with queers and induction into it as a business transaction arises through membership in a peer group which carries this knowledge in a common tradition and often controls it as well. In particular, we shall see that the peer group controls the amount of such activity, tending to minimize the frequency of its occurrence by threatening the boy with the definition of being a "queer" if he is known to participate too frequently. Finally it should be noted (9), that this is a shared culture and a shared organizational system between the peer hustlers and the adult queers. It is unfortunate that no data were gathered from the clients of the boys so that this common culture and its organization could be delineated more carefully. It's main features become apparent, however, from the interviews with delinquents.

Establishing Contact

The social contact between queers and peers is largely established because both share a common knowledge of how contact is to be made and where it can easily be made within space. Those within the common culture know that contact can be established within a relatively short period of time, if it is wished. The fact that contact between peers and queers can be easily made is mute evidence of the organized understandings which prevail between the two groups.

Location and Personal Contact. There are a large number of locations in space where personal contact is made between the boys and their clients, the queers. Many of these points are known to all boys regardless of where they reside in the metropolitan area. This is particularly true of the central city locations where the largest number of personal contact points is found within a small territorial area. Each community area of the city which is inhabited by substantial numbers of lower status persons also has its meeting points. Finally, the fringe areas of the metropolis also include these points of personal contact. The fringe and community area locations are generally known only to the boys in the limited residential area surrounding the meeting place.

The major types of meeting places for peers and queers share certain characteristics which are summarized below, but first a description of how personal contact between them is made within each of these setting is offered to serve as a basis for the summary. A major point of contact is a street corner. These corners generally are places where traffic converges from main traffic arteries. The principle characteristic the corner offers in each case, however, is that boys on corners and queers in cars may quickly establish personal contact by a commonly understood symbolic exchange. The corner must be easily "circled" by the queer in an automobile. He may "circle" it for a period of time until boys recognize it as a repeated effort, and therefore "know it is the car of a queer". The boy can then "give a sign" indicating he is ready to make a transaction--he is in business. The car pulls over and moves to a point where the transaction may take place in the car--under viaducts, country roads, county parks which are not policed well, cemeterys, alleys, factory areas, and so on. "Dolly", (his mother gave him that name and "it just stuck") age 17 but in sixth grade, I.Q. of 96, reading score of 3.4, a three time looser at Jordonia, The State Training School, and a member of the top ACES gang comes from a low status family (father a sheet metal worker at the State Penitentiary until he died) describes one of the common ways of being "picked up": "It's easy. You just stand on the corner and they come around and look at you like this (moves his head from side to side). Then they drive around four or five times and when you nod or give em a sign by putting your left hand like this (put thumb and index finger into a circle) they pull over and you go off."

Public or quasi-public men's toilets are a second major pick-up or meeting place. This is particularly true of the men's rooms in major downtown transportation depots or bus stations, and of those in hotels. The boys usually refer to these as "bathrooms", though they usually do not include the public bath associated with male homosexuality, even though travelers may wash and shave in them. Dolly describes the "prescribed mode of making personal contact" in this situation as well: "Well like at the bus station, you go to the bathroom and stands there pretendin' like and they're standin there pretendin' like... and then they motions their head and walks out and you follows them, and you goes some place, either they's got a car, or you go to one of them hotels near the depot or some place like that... most any place." The writings on walls in these places are not without their primitive communication value in this context, e.g. "Show it hard".

Very much like the street corner is the public park, and many boys report their major meeting place or pick up point is in a park. Entrepreneurs and clients may be brought together by the queer walking past a park bench on which a boy sits and continuing to walk by until personal contact is made with "you got a light", or "got the time", etc. Or again cars may "circle" in the park, or the public toilet may serve to draw patron and entreneur together.

The "second" and "third" run theatre "open around the clock" and permitting "sitting through shows" is another major point of personal contact. Young boys are particularly vulnerable "to first contact" in such a situation but experienced ones use it too. The "Empress" was one such place for the boys in Nashville. Here the older queer seats himself next to the young boy and "propositions" him. There may be repeated failures before contact is made as many of the boys who never enter the "culture" report, but there are those who are either inducted into it this way or who see it as a "regular channel".

Bars are not a principal place for contact between adolescent boys and adult male queers, perhaps largely because these are plied by other male hustlers—older ones and a few who may pass. Many of these boys are 12 to 15 years old and most bars just won't risk their presence—at least not in Nashville. A few beer and eating establishments, particularly drive-ins, serve as community contact points too.

For the experienced boy who "knows a lot of queers", contact may be made directly with "known" queers--usually by telephone. Though many queers appear to try to establish such continuing contact, the boys do not usually use this means for reasons inherent in their orientation toward the transaction, as we shall see below. This pattern is expressed by Tom R.... Tom is a member of a gang of black-haired boys who now are peroxide blondes. He has an I.Q. score of [illegible] and a reading score equivalent to that of only 4.4 grade level attainment, though he is in eighth grade and 14 years of age. His father is a night watchman at a hotel. Tom admits to petty larceny, assault and malicious destruction of property, particularly at homes of Negro residents. The following exchange with Tom about his pattern of contact with queers shows that he shares the "common" knowledge about all the "well-known" queers, and he has the telephone numbers of several but, unlike some, he relies largely on being "picked up" rather than on "picking up". He is, therefore, less involved than some--those who solicit as well as respond to frequent solicitation.

Int.: "You get picked up alot?"

Red: "Not too often. I don't look for em or nothin', just when they pick you up."

Int.: "Where do you get picked up?"

Red: "Well most anywhere but the easiest places are like downtown--the bus station, fourth and Church or anywhere......along Church Street or Union there by the banks."

Int.: "You know any of em?"

Red: "Yeh, I know lots of 'em. I could name lots of 'em for you. You ever heard of W......?"

Int.: "Don't know that I do. Which W......?"

Red: I think its C.... W....., I'm not sure. He drives a 1957 Lincoln and works for the gover'ment. He don't live here though--just comes in and out. You know T....?

Int.: "Yeh, I heard of him..."

Red: "Well he's a gay and there are others around here like A..... too. I could give you a whole list. Stone and I got two or three telephone numbers."

Int.: "You been with all of these?"

Red: "Most of 'em if they got the money."

Int.: "You ever telephone any of 'em?"

Red: "No, I don't need to; I don't go with any of 'em that often."

Int.: "Been with the same one more than once?"

Red: "Yeh, a few times."

In addition to these common points for establishing personal contact between peers and queers, the queer often establishes initial contact by taking advantage of the fact that many boys hitchhike. Establishing contact when hitchhiking is discussed in somewhat greater detail below as a means of first getting involved. But here it can be noted that boys who hitchhike at night, and particularly late at night, are particularly "vulnerable" to such "pick-ups". Since it is primarily the lower status boy who is allowed to hitch-hike at night (and particularly to go downtown and hitchhike home), it is the lower status boy who has the greatest probability of making such a contact with an adult male homosexual.

The major ways of establishing contact have been considered. There are a number of factors which are common to the meeting places where personal contact is made between adolescent boys and the adult male fellator. They stem largely from the fact that a public or a quasi-public place is the major type of situation in which personal contact occurs. One of the characteristics which these places have in common is that they guarantee some rationale for the presence of both queers and peers in the same place. This rationale is particularly important to both since if there were high visibility to their presence or were there no guarantees of anonymity (they are of course in most cases quite visible to one another and may even be known by persons within the establishment as 'frequenters' of the place, but their presence still can be 'explained') and no ready explanation for their activity, personal contact would be far more difficult. A public restroom, a bus depot, the men's room in a hotel, and similar facilities all are relatively low social control sites (even though detectives may to some degree operate as controlling agents in these settings). Most important of all, however, is that meeting places must be places where delinquent boys of essentially lower status dress and appearnace may make contact with queers of any status level. This is true despite the fact that there are relatively important differences between the status of queers and the sites which they choose. Higher status queers generally make personal contact through circling in an automobile (picking up the corner boys) or in a public park, the men's room of one of the 'better hotels' or at some bars or eating places. It is an impression, however, that in Nashville high status queers avoid the bus stations, lower status hotels and rooming houses, etc. It also is an impression that a large proportion of the queers who meet lower status peers are themselves lower status males. It is difficult to be certain about this when no study was made of the "queer population".

These points of personal contact between adolescent boys and adult male fellators also provide important ways to "show intent" to one another or to "carry out the activity" (the car, men's room, or hotel) without making the contact particularly visible to others. The entrepreneur and his customer in fact can meet without more than an exchange of nonverbal gestures, transact their business with a minimum of verbal communication and part without a knowledge of one another's identity. In many cases, boys report that "almost nothing was said". The sexual transaction may occur with only the formal business transaction of how much is to be paid to the boy.

There may be other advantages to these situations, as well. From the literature it is known that the adult male homosexual who is the patron of lower status entrepreneurs faces threats of violence (upper status ones more often face threats of blackmail) and he, therefore, has a "need" to protect his anonymity. While not all male fellators attempt to protect their anonymity, particularly when some are willing to let a boy have their phone number or "keep the boy", still in general the queer wants to meet under circumstances where he is least likely to be victimized. Public meeting places or his own automobile provide some control over being victimized, though an automobile provides far less than a public meeting place. Boys sometimes roll the "inexperience queer" by naming a meeting place or going to a prearranged meeting place where their friends can help roll the queer, steal his car, etc.. The queer of course is generally known to the peers to be vulnerable in these respects--he "can't" report it. Parenthetically, it might be mentioned that boys are not usually aware of the institutional invulnerability to arrest which they actually possess. To cite an extreme instance from our study, a twelve year old boy "propositioned" one of the police detectives in the public bus depot. The initial response of the police detective was to "brush him off" and tell him "go home until you grow up". When several minutes later the boy, unaware that he was dealing with a police detective, solicited him again, the detective finally took"the dumb kid" off to the detention facility, only to find that he was a runaway from another city who had worked the bus depot for some weeks. An adolescent boy is peculiarly invulnerable to arrest even when found with a "queer"--the mores define the boy as exploited--even though as we shall show there remains a question as to who is exploiting whom in the business transaction. Despite this invulnerability to arrest, boys tend to think they might be sent "to the training school" if they are caught. They therefore generally avoid situations where their presence is not accepted as a matter of course.

How Peers and Queers Establish Personal Contact. Emphasis has been placed on delineating a peer-queer culture operating through a delinquent peer society. There are no instances of boys interviewed in this study who had established contacts with queers who were not also delinquent in many other respects. There is considerable evidence in fact that contact with peers is an aspect of a delinquent career-oriented subculture or society and that participants in the queer-peer relationship are almost largely limited either to this group or to peer-oriented delinquents. This is not to say that some middle status boys may not become involved with an adult male fellator. Some do, but middle status boys who get involved are not participants in a group which sanctions the activity if it occurs according to prescribed group standards. Investigation did in fact locate a few cases at the juvenile court where a middle status boy was "involved with a queer", but only in one of these cases was the relationship an instrumental one between the boy and the queer and in none was it sanctioned by the peer society.

How then do boys come into contact with queers? Most of the boys from the lowest socioeconomic level in large cities are prepared for contact with queers through membership in a group which has a knowledge of how to make contact with and relate to queers. This is part of the common culture. Often too the peer group socializes the boy in his first experiences or continuing ones with queers. The knowledge and practices of the peer-queer relationship is almost universally shared among boys who are adjudged delinquent and resident in the State Training School for Boys. Most of these boys have also had experiences with queers, though the extent of their participation and involvement varies considerably.

The peer group actually serves as the school of induction for some of its members. The uninitiated boy goes with one or more members of his peer group for indoctrination and his "first experience". Doy L... age 16 and in ninth grade, a low status boy at a low status school, I.Q. of 94 but a 3.4 grade level reading score, and a two-time looser at Jordonia, explains how he got started: "I went along with these older boys down to the bus station, and they took me along and showed me how it was done...they'd go in, get a queer, get blowed and get paid......if it didn't work right, they'd knock him in the head and get their money......they showed me how to do it, so I went in too". In these cases the boy is both indoctrinated as to the practices by observation and training and given his first experience with a queer by going along with a peer group. Usually it is the older boys in the group who undertake the indoctrination.

In other cases the boy is exposed to indoctrination in the subcultural definitions of peer-queer relations. He hears reports of experiences which supply the definitions--reports of how contacts are made, how you get your money if the queer resists, how much one should expect to get and what kind of behavior is acceptable from the queer and which is to be rejected and how. He knows all of this before he has had any experience with a queer. In the case of corner gangs, the queers may often pass the neighborhood corner and even the preadolescent boy learns about the activity as the 'older boys' get picked up. As the boy enters adolescence and a gang of his own which takes over the corner, he is psychologically and socially prepared for his "first experience". This often may come when the first opportunity presents itself. Lester H.... illustrates the case where a boy is prepared for his first experience through this kind of association with a peer group. Lester is a fifteen year old boy, I.Q. of 87, registered in seventh grade in a predominately lower status school; his father is a peddler. Lester's first experience came when he went to one of the common points of converge of queers and peers--the Empress Theatre--to see a movie. Lester relates: "I was down in the Empress Theatre and this guy came over and felt me up and asked me if I'd go out......I said I would if he'd give me the money as I'd heard they did and I was gettin low on it.... so he took me down by the river and blowed me".

In a fairly large number of cases a brother first introduces one to the experience, much as he introduces one to other first experiences, including other kinds of sex experience. Jimmie M.... is chosen to illustrate this pattern. Jimmie is a two time looser at Jordonia and a member of the Piston Pushers gang. Fifteen years of age, in eighth grade in a school which cross-cuts the status structure but consists predominatly of lower status children, an I.Q. of 88, a reading score of 7.9, father dead, boy lives with an uncle whose sole income is a pension, Jimmie is led into his experiences by his younger brother. He describes his first heterosexual experience as follows: "When I was almost 14 my younger brother said he'd screwed this woman and he told me about it, so I went down there and she let me screw her too". His induction into the queer-peer society also occurred through his younger brother. In Jimmie's words: "Well, my younger brother came home and told me this gay'd sucked him and he told me where he lived.....and I was scared to do it, but I figure'd I'd want to see what it was like since the other guys talked about it and my brother'd done it. So I went down and he blowed me". "Did he pay you?" "Naw, he just blowed me; I wanted to see what it was like."

There are a few cases, of course, in which the boy may become exposed though he was not previously aware of the solicitation of queers, even though most of his friends may have previously had such experiences. Burton S..... relates this kind of experience, "Well we were standin' on this corner and this guy came by slow like... and I didn't know it then but I knew it later, and some of the boys did though and he stopped. Me and this other boy got in as he knew him...and he carried us out in the country and blowed us".

Not all of the boys who are members of groups which "queer bait" accept these practices. Some boys reject the practice, though they continue as participating members of the group. This is true even for some boys who are members of the most career-oriented delinquent gangs. It is not too surprising that these exceptions occur as sex behavior somehow appears to be exempt from the absolute requisites for participation in a delinquent group. Some boys in gangs which frequently gang shag refuse to participate in these activities. "I don't like my meat that raw" appears to be an acceptable 'out'. Exemption appears possible so long as the boy is acceptable in all, if not most, other respects. A lower status delinquent boy apparently doesn't "chicken out" or loose his 'rep' if he doesn't want to engage in certain kinds of sex practices which most of his peers practice. It is suspected that the same thing may be true for other practices such as the use of narcotics.

Jerry P... from a lower status school is one example of a boy who is in a group where all the other boys go with queers, but Jerry refuses to become involved, though he goes so far as to ride in the car with one of the gang's "regular queers". Jerry is in a gang which often gets picked up by a well known gay who works the North side, a David B.... Jerry admits: "I ride with B..... a lot, but he's never done anyghing to me; I just can't go for that". When asked how he knew B.... was a queer then, he replied, "Oh all the guys say so and talk about doin' it with him....I could, but I just don't want to". Joe C...., at a school which crosscuts the status structure, was asked if he had any other kind of sex experiences, and his reply shows his rejection of his peer group's pattern of behavior with queers. "You mean like with queers?" "Un Huh." "I don't go with any. Most of my friends queer bait, but I don't." When asked, "What do you mean, queer bait?", his reply was "They go out to get picked up so they can pick up some fast money that way". A friend of his Roy P.... also rejects queer baiting by "Ain't no sense in queer baitin'. I don't need the money that bad". He also added, "Besides I hear that if you goes out with 'em much, they sucks your insides out", evidence of some of the popular mythology which attaches to this deviant practice.

There is almost universal knowledge about queers and their practices, about what is to be "gained" from a relationship with them, how to effect a liaison, how much money you get and so on among most of the boys in the lowest social stratum. Both knowledge and practice are almost universal ampng boys who have "done time" at the State Vocational Training School for Boys. Yet there are a few boys who contend that they never have been involved in such a relationship and there is no reason to believe that they are not telling the truth. One such boy is Robert H.... Hugo, as he is called in his gang, has a tested I.Q. of 105 (which may be somewhat low). He has been a fairly good student, particularly during the periods he attends school at the State Training school, where he is a four time looser. He is 16 and entered eleventh grade at a predominantly lower status school before being committed the last time. His father drives a Yellow Cab. Hugo aspires to become a CPA, though he thinks the odds are against his making it. Hugo states the case for universal knowledge and experience of the queer-peer culture and society thus: "Every boy out here can tell you about queers and where to meet 'em.... you know, like the bus depot, the Canary Bar, Eighth Avenue and places like that. It's easy to get picked up and most boys do it, I've just never wanted it.... Most boys know it's a quick and easy way to get money and those that do it, do it for that reason". Here is a pretty verbal and bright boy who is able to summarize the subcultural basis of the transaction. It is not the training school which gives the knowledge and experience in this kind of sex behavior, but it is an aspect of peer activity in delinquent groups outside the institution. Hugo goes on to express his personal feelings toward such an experience and toward sex experiences generally: "I never made a girl and I've never gang banged. I can't see sex that way. I always get it by asking 'em you know. I think I enjoy it as much as most except maybe a homosexual or queer who will do it to anyone....but I can control it better than most." ...."I knocked a queer down once who followed me and called me Sweetie, but usually I just got out of the car if they tried to do something." ....."I used to beat my meat two or three times a day but as I got older I knew it was wrong and I didn't feel like doing it before others, but even though I haven't quit, I do it only once a month or so." His remarks on pederasty include: "I've thought about that, but it just doesn't seem right, and I put it out of my mind, but you know how it is out here....." Here is a boy who is deeply involved in a delinquent gang, a four time looser, and respected within the gang. Within the training school he has risen to the informal position of assisting the dormitory supervisor so that he has a great deal of power over decisions about boys in the dormitory where he lives. Yet he has a moral position about his behavior--including his sex behavior--which precludes involvement beyond heterosexual intercourse and masturbation--

even these however are seen as "immoral" now. Most boys fail to see their sexual transactions in conventional moral terms and it is in this sense that Hugo differs from them perhaps more than any other.

Not all boys either secure their initial exposure through contact with a delinquent peer group, nor are they prepared for their first exposure to it by common participation. This is quite likely to be the case if their first experience with a queer occurred shortly after puberty. R.... a lower status boy was around twelve at the time of his first experience and reports it as follows, "Well, I was hitchhiking from downtown and this guy picked me up at Eighth and Union and asked me if I ever went with a queer. I didn't know then what a queer was, so I asked him what he meant and he told me. I needed the money so I went along..." "How long ago was that?" "Three years ago." "How often you generally get picked up now?" "Once or twice'd a week....I get all my spending money that way..." "Where do you get picked up?" "Well before this guy (a regular he has now) I'd go either to Eighth and Church or Eighth and Union, but Eighth and Union's the best." Such boys are even unaware of what queers do but they are solicited because their behavior suggests they may be "likely entrepreneurs". Sometimes they continue the practice and sometimes they don't as can be learned from the discussion below. The two major ways induction occurs without the boy having prior knowledge of queers is through hitchhiking or through going to a theatre regularly patronized by peers in search of queers and, vice versa.

The impression should not be gained that all boys who come into contact with peers accept sexual transactions with queers. In point of fact, probably a majority of all solicitations are refused, or if one actually takes place, it will be the "first and last" time unless two conditions also prevail: The first of these is that the boy is a member of a group which sanctions this kind of activity and indoctrinates the boy in the practices. A substantial number of boys who were not in such groups reported contact with queers, but the most common response of these boys to the attempt on the part of the queer was "I just told him to let me out of the car", or "I just got up and stood in the back until he left and then I went back and sat down". These boys are not "vulnerable" to the queer's overtures because they are not members of a group which sanctions the activity. The second condition is that the boy does not view the queer's offer, as of instrumental gain, particularly monetary gain--a factor which is discussed below. Now it is primarily lower status boys who have a high probability of being in situations where they will be solicited by queers. It also is largely lower status delinquent gang members who carry within the peer group a cultural tradition which approves instrumental sexual transactions with both queers and others. And finally, it also is primarily lower status boys who "most need the money" which such transactions provide. The low status boy who is a member of a delinquent career oriented gang which positively sanctions instrumental relationships with adult male fellators and which initiates members into these practices and a boy who at the same time perceives himself as needing the "income" which the transaction provides is most likely to establish personal contact with adult male fellators on a continuing basis.

There is less information from which to state the differences between lower status boys who reject the queer-peer relationship when they are within a group which sanctions it, other than indications that moral evaluations are part of the process of differentation.

There are perhaps other bases on which lower status boys reject relations with queers. Some career-oriented and larger numbers of peer-oriented gangs negatively sanction relationships with queers. They "bug" the member who goes out with queers and in other ways discourage the activity. In a few cases, there are gangs which look upon queers as "fair game" for their aggressive activity--they beat, roll, and otherwise put upon them. A number of these boys when interviewed seemed to derive sadistic gratification from these acts of violence but no more so than the boy who "jumped" the queer when he went beyond the bounds of the expected relationship. Furthermore, these gangs hardly appear to be organized along lines of selectivity among "sadists".

Many lower status boys who refused to become involved with queers were not members of highly organized delinquent gangs, though they were often members of either Peer-Oriented or Conforming Nonachiever groups. While our interview group cannot provide any reliable estimates of the proportion of boys who regularly carry on relationships with queers, the exposed population, and so on, an 'educated guess' is that most lower status boys know of queers and have been approached by at least one, but that most of them do not become involved with them in any kind of continuing relationship. A majority of all lower status boys probably reject even a single sexual transaction with an adult male fellator.

It is difficult to say what is characteristic of the boy who refuses to become involved other than that he is not a member of a group which positively sanctions the relationship and inducts one into its ways, and he is not a boy who conceives of himself as having income demands which can be met by this form of entrepreneurship. But just how they develop such a conception is not known. Almost all lower status boys reported they had been solicited by a queer, either when hitchhiking or at a theatre--usually the Empress. Hitchhikers generally either forced the queer to let them get out or the queer in most cases stopped and allowed them to get out when they refused. Most boys do not report "insistence" on the part of queers in such instances; rather there seems to be a mutual willingness to forego any further attempts at solicitation--perhaps because the queer cannot afford the risk but also perhaps because the probability of establishing contact is sufficiently high on his next try that he can "afford to forego this one".

Some boys, however, particularly when they are quite young, report a solicitation from a queer which they somehow felt unable to refuse but which they clearly rejected as either gratifying or instrumentally acceptable. It is these boys who in a sense can be said to be "exploited" since they are forced into the act "against their will", or at least without an awareness of how to cope with the situation. One instance of this kind of occurrence is found in the following report, "This guy picked me up down at Fourth and Union and said he was going over to East Nashville, so I got in....but he drove me way out on Dickerson Pike". "What'd he do?" "(Pause)...well he blowed me and it made me feel real bad inside...but I know how to deal with queers now...ain't none of 'em gonna do that to me again....I hate queers... they're crazy." There is an important admission in this statement in "but I know how to deal with 'em now". The lower status boy, particularly as he grows older, learns how to deal with the adult male fellator. Boys exchange experiences on how they deal with them, and it becomes quite difficult to "exploit" a boy who is socialized in a low status peer group. It is only a twelve year old such as the one above who is "vulnerable", but only a very few boys probably are "exploited" in this way.

The Nature of the Transaction

The question arises, does the peer society have any norms about personal relations with queers? Or, does it simply induct a boy into a relationship by teaching him how to effect the transaction? The answer is that there appear to be several rather clearcut norms about the relations between peers and queers even though there is a fair amount of deviation from these norms. These norms are briefly outlined and then illustrated in somewhat greater detail.

The first major norm is that a boy must undertake a relationship with a queer solely as a means of making money, i.e., it must be seen as an instrumental means to a goal of making money. To follow the implications of this norm it means that in general sexual gratification is not to be sought as a goal of the relationship. This does not mean that a boy either can or cannot be sexually gratified by the act--either is permissible--but it does mean that he must not seek sexual gratification as a goal. Boys who seek out queers as a source of sexual gratification are clearly given very low status in the lower class peer world--they are either called "punks" or they are otherwise exploited for their behavior. The peer group in fact strongly sanctions anyone who risks this kind of involvement with queers--it "bugs" him. Put another way, a boy cannot generally admit he didn't get money from the transaction. If he fails to get money from the transaction, he is expected to use violent means to get it.

The second major norm operating in the relationship is that the sexual transaction must be limited to mouth-genital fellation; no other elements of sexual perversion are generally tolerated. Thus, the adult male fellator must deport himself in such a way as to reenforce the instrumental aspects of the relationship and to insure affective neutrality.[5] To depart from these expectations in the role relationship is to risk rejection in it, including the risk of violence. Among the boys, violent means are thought of as the principal means of protection against going beyond these expectations.

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[5] Talcott Parsons in The Social System, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951, Chapter III, discusses this kind of role as "the segregation of specific instrumental performances, both from expressive orientations other than the specifically appropriate rewards and from other components of the instrumental complex". (p.87).

The third major norm operating on the relationship is that both peers and queers as pariticipants should remain affectively neutral during the transaction; peers, however, must degrade the adult male fellator in the aggregate. Thus the queer must be seen as "born that way" or "crazy I guess", or even "I hate queers", but only "I like------" who is a queer, is even permitted. At the time of the transaction, the most commonly held view about the sexual transaction is "I don't much care about 'em one way or the other'." It should be kept clearly in mind that one is only permitted to acknowledge self gratification in the sexual act and the gratification of peers must be tabooed. While there are exceptions which permit one to "like a queer" like all prejudices attached to devalued status, the person who is liked must be the exception which states the rule. Thus queers in general are devalued and if necessary may be treated with contempt and violence. They are after all simply a means to an end.

A fourth major norm operating on the relationship serves as a primary factor in stabilizing the system. This norm holds that violence must not be utilized so long as the relationship conforms to the shared set of expectations between queers and peers. For this reason, so long as the queer conforms to the expectations and has his relations with the career-oriented boy who shares in the queer-peer society with its cultural traditions, he runs little risk of becoming the object of violence--of being rolled, and so on. The main reason for this norm is that violence is potentially destructive of an organized system. And all organized systems must solve the problem of control of the means of violence. If the fellator clients were repeatedly the objects of violence, the system as it has been described could not arise. Thus most boys who share the common expectations do not use violent means unless the expectations are violated. To use violence of course is to become affectively involved and therefore violate another prescription of the relationship. The boy who established a regular relationship with a queer to insure a steady income recognizes most clearly that violence is altogether disruptive if it comes from others in the peer society.

The roles prescribed for peers and queers are those respectively of entreprenuer and patron, at least so far as the peer organization is concerned. There may be somewhat difference value orientations among queers toward the relationship, particularly in the specification of the roles, but basically the roles are those involved in institutionalized forms of prostitution--the prostitute and the client. The terms peer-hustler and queer have been used in this context since they define a special form of this more general institutionalized relationship.

(1). So far as the prescribed goal of the peer hustler is concerned, it is to make money. To maintain that this is the major goal orientation is not to deny other latent goals or sources of gratification in the relationship. It is simply to say that the major cultural goal is to use the relationship as a means to make money. This then is the primary source of motivation in the sense of goal direction of the act itself. There is little doubt that it is important to most of the boys to define the relationship in this way.

The importance of "needing money" in motivating a boy to the peer-queer transaction is illustrated well by the comment of Richard R....... Richard is an eleventh grader at a lower status suburban school. He has an I.Q. score of 78; his father is a plumber for a county shop. Richard says, "What I want is the money when I'm hard up for cash.... Like if I'm standing down at the corner (queer corner in Bordeaux) and one comes along, and I got a coupla bucks in my pocket, I'll pass 'em up and let someone take him who needs the money". Here in a succinct fashion is stated the instrumental aspects of the role relationship as institutionally defined.

This instrumental attitude perhaps is expressed in a more literate fashion by Dewey H.... Dewey is a 16 year old boy in eighth grade at a predominantly lower status school, though he has been in "better schools". His I.Q. score of 78 and a reading score of 5.3 may to some extent reflect low motivation in test situations--at least that is a clinical impression. He lives with a stepfather who "digs ditches and installs gas lines" and his mother who does not work.

Dewey explains how he got into experience with queers, "This guy in the Rex Theatre came over and sat down next to me when I was 11 or 12 and he started to fool with me. I got over and sat down another place and he came over and asked me didn't I want to and he'd pay me five bucks. I figured it was easy money so I went with him.....I didn't do it before that. That wasn't too long after I'd moved to South Nashville. I was a pretty good boy before that....not real good, but I never ran with a crowd that got into trouble before that--but I met a lot of em there". In response to, "Why do you run with queers?", Dewey answers with assurance: "It's easy money....like I could go out and break into a place when I'm broke and get money that way... but that's harder and you take a bigger risk......with a queer it's easy money.

Dewey's comments lead us to two important factors which in a sense explain "why" the motivation toward getting money from peers. The first reason is found in his expression of "easy money". It is 'easy money' to these boys in two ways. One is that the money can be gotten in a short period of time. Boys report needing money for a date or a night out and not having it, but that within an hour they can have enough money by going out with a queer. It is a sure way to get money without any expenditure of effort since passivity in a social if not a psychological sense will get you money. All one has to do is stand on a corner or go to some other place where queers pick-up, wait around, get picked up, carried to a place where the transaction occurs and, in a relatively short period of time get your money and, often, after, one can even expect to get delivered to the point one chooses as his destination.

It is easy money, however, in another and a more important sense for these boys. Boys who act in peer-queer role relationships are generally career-oriented delinquents, or if not these boys at least have rather extensive "records" of delinquency. Rejecting the opportunities for making money by legitimate means, their opportunities for making money by illegitimate means are limited. Theft is one of these available means, but theft is more difficult than most assume and it involves risk. The boys are not unaware of the risks which they take. Most of the time the risk involved in an act of stealing is calculated as "worth the risk: but there are times when it is not so evaluated. The most important of these times is when the "heat" is on the boy--when he can least afford to run the risk. Such a time is apt to follow either a "pick-up" by the police, being put on probation, and threatened with institutionalization following his next pick-up or, following a period of institutionalization. At such times, the boy particularly calculates whether he can afford to take the risk. Gerald L.... in describing a continuing relationship with a queer who gave him his phone number reflects Dewey's attitude toward low risk thus, "So twice'd after that when I was gittin' real low and couldn't risk stealin' and gittin' caught, I called him and he took me out and blowed me". Here is profit with no investment of capital and a minimum of risk in social if not psychological terms.

The element of risk coupled with the wish for 'easy money' enters into our understanding of the peer-queer relationship in another way. From a sociological point of view the peer-queer sexual transaction as it has been described in this chapter occurs between two major types of deviators. The boys are primarily violators of personal and property norms in the sense of following a delinquent career. The adult male fellators or queers are deviators from the norms which prescribe heterosexual sex behavior and legally are violators of criminal statutes as well as of the statutes defining their behavior as contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both types of deviators take a great deal of risk in engaging in their deviant acts. The risk of strong negative sanctions from the larger society increases for the delinquent as his number of arrests and/or incarcerations increases; at some point therefore many of these boys may "calculate" their risk and seek to "minimize" it, at least in the very "short-run". When confronted with such a situation, however, and given the goal of "easy money", how is easy money to be made? Illegitimate activities provide the "best" opportunity for easy money. Illegitimate opportunities available to adolescents are somewhat restricted in kind and number. They include such activities, however, as runners for bookmakers and contacts for dope peddlers. But even these require certain routinized role expectations which the delinquent often is unwilling to fulfill. Under these circumstances a sexual deviator like a queer becomes an "opportunity" which will minimize risk altogether in providing the opportunity to make "easy money".

The opportunities for gratification available to the adult male fellator also are restricted, particularly in the sense of minimizing the risk in locating patrons and avoiding involvement. Lower status males, precisely because of their status position, to some extent minimize the risk for him.

But the lower status male who also is a delinquent deviator tends to minimize his risk to an even greater degree, at least so far as detection is concerned. This is not to say that the queer is able to minimize his risk altogether since he still risks violence from his patron, but much less so if a set of expectations arise which control the use of violence as well. The organized set of expectations shared by peers and queers does tend to limit the use of violence.

Under special circumstances boys may substitute other gratifications for the goal of money, provided that these gratifications do not include sexual gratification as a major goal. These special circumstances are the case where an entire gang "makes a night or time of it" with one or more adult male fellators. Under these circumstances everyone is excepted from the subcultural expectations about making mone, from the fellator because everyone participates and there is no reason for everyone (or anyone) to make money, For the group to substitute being given a "good time" by a queer for the prescribed financial transaction is the exception, of course, which proves the rule. The expectations of the group rather than of its members individually are met.

Several examples of group exemption from the prescribed norm of a financial transaction were discovered. Carl P..... provides an instructive instance in response to the query, "Ever gone in a group?" "Well, most of 'em wants but one guy....but last November....you know, at Thanksgiving....well, me and my buddies was goin huntin' down at Murfreesboro and we were gonna stay up all night anyway and go huntin' early... well this gay comes over to where we was standin' and says he's got a motel and did we wanta go....so we all went down there and stayed there." "Did you all get blown?" "Yeh" "Well, what'd you do while the others were getting blown?" "Oh it was dark in there and..... (pause).....well some was takin a shower and others was looking at TV...and, well,it was dark and, we all was drinkin' and, jest sittin around and talkin and, things like that." "You stay there all night?" "We hung around till it was time to go huntin'." Here the act of fellation is incidental to the group goals. Solicitation "for a night of it at a motel" is readily accepted by the group since no one knew"what they were going to do anyway", a common occurrence "on the corner".

In another instance, Danny S...., 17 years old with I.Q. of 109 and leader of the BLACK ACES, tells of his gang's group experiences with queers. "There's this one gay who takes us to the Colonial Motel out on Dickerson Pike.....usually it's a bunch of us boys and we all get drunk and get blowed by this queer....we don't get much money then....it's more a drinking party.." He also tells of another experience of his gang. The Black Aces are a fighting gang and place great stress on physical prowess, particularly boxing. All of its members are "several time loosers" at the State Training School. During one of these periods the training school employed a boxing instructor who was "a queer", but the boys had great respect for him since he taught them how to box and was a game fighter. Danny refers to him in accepting terms...."He's a real good guy...he's even fought with us once and we drink with him when we run into him...he's taken us up to Miter Dam a couple times... he's got a cabin on the creek up there and he blows us...but mostly we just drink and have a real good time." These examples illustrate of course the instrumental orientation of the gang members. If the expense of the gang members getting drunk and having a good time are born by a queer, each member is released from the obligation to obtain cash. The relationship in this case represents more an exchange of services than of money for a service.

(2). The transaction between the boy and the queer must be limited to mouth-genital fellatio. This is at least the expectation on the part of the boy and most of these lower status boys refer to it in the past tense of "gittin' blowed". For the adult male fellator to violate the boy's expectation of "getting blowed" is to risk violence from the boy. Whether or not boys actually use violent means as often as they say they do when their expectations are violated, there is no way of knowing with any degree of precision but, it is clear that when boys reported they used violent means they always reported some violation of the subcultural expectations, and they never reported a violation of the subcultural expectations which was not follwed by the use of violent means unless it is clearly held as an exception. Bobby A.... expresses the boys point of view on the use of violent means in the following exchange: "How much did you usually get?" "Around five dollars...if they didn't give that much, I'd beat their head in..." "Did they ever want you to do anything besides blow you?" "Yeh...sometimes...like they'd want me to blow them, but I'd tell them to go to hell and maybe beat them up." "Did you ever go with the same queer more than once?" "Oh I went out two or three times with a few of them?" "Did you ever go with any more often than that?" "Naw...we'd just go out and find the nearest one when we needed the money."

Boys are very much averse to being thought of as ever occupying the queer role or in engaging in acts of fellation as a "queer". This act of fellation is defined as a "queer act" and to ask a boy whether he would consider such behavior meets with strong denials and hostility. This could be interpreted as defensive behavior but it is strongly suspected that it is denied with hostility because it goes so counter to the role expectation as the subculture defines it. It would involve a reversal of roles. While most boys were asked whether they would engage in such behavior, all but those who had the status of punks denied they either had engaged in the queer role or would consider it for themselves. In one case where an extremely aggressive peer oriented boy was asked whether he would "blow someone", the boy rose to assault the interviewer (the boy ran through a plate glass window of a supermarket when he was caught by the police in an act of burglary the week following the interview). After Paul was "subdued" and the interview resumed by telling Paul this was simply to find out how he felt about what queers did, Paul still insisted, "Well how come then you asked me if I ever blowed anyone?....Anyone can tell queers and they're crazy. How come you can't tell I ain't one and what made you think I was a queer?" The boys are quite convinced that "you can always tell a queer" and they strongly object to the "it takes one to know one". These boys have been schooled in the cultural identification of the queer--you know how to make contact with one. It might be added that no boy ever reported a "failure", in the sense of *falsely identifying someone as a* queer. At least a boy rarely gets into trouble in establishing contact with a queer.

There are some boys who although defining the expected relationship as one of mouth-genital fellation, will acquiesce to other forms of fellation performed by the queer. These boys, it is guessed, are relatively infrequent in the peer population and were their acts known to the members of the group they would be defined as outside the delinquent peer society. It should be clear, however, that under certain circumstances it is acceptable behavior to the peer group for one of its members to perform the male roles in crimes against nature such as in pederasty (cornholing to the boys), bestiality (sometimes called buggery), and carnal copulation with a man involving no orifice (referred to as slick-laying among the boys) provided that the partner is not a member of the group. But, under no circumstances is the female role in carnal copulation acceptable in any form. It is tabooed. Boys who accept female roles in sexual transactions occupy the lowest status generally within the career oriented delinquent group and within the social structure of the institutional organizations for delinquent boys.

Jimmie M....illustrates the case of a boy who is willing to accept more than mouth-genital fellation without using violent means against the queer. He recounts in response to the query: "They all usually do it to you in the same way?" "Not always...most of em just blows you (laughs)....but I had one guy who just played with it and that's all....and another just licked my ass.... that was funny, but he did........I hear there's other kinds too, but I never had none of that." It might be added that Jimmie's sex history includes in addition to the relationship with adult male fellators and gang shags, acts of pederasty in which he assumed the male role and bestiality.

(3). The role definitions for the relationship between the boy and the adult male fellator requires that the boy remain affectively neutral toward the queer during the transaction. At least this is the way the boys within the peer society define the role relationship. The ideal form of the role of the boy in his relationship with the fellator is one in which the boy is defined as an entrepreneur and the queer as purchasing a service. The service is offered the patron for a given amount of money without any exchange of affect. It is a business transaction in which the sexual transaction is purchased. In the ideal typical case, the boy is not expected to "enjoy" the sexual transaction, nor is he expected to be "repulsed" by it either. The act of mouth-genital fellation is to be accepted in the sense of selling a service. In the ideal typical case too the boy is not expected to express aggression toward the queer. Aggression should occur only when the expectations are violated--the fellator no longer fulfills the role expectations.

In the prescribed form of the role relationship then, the boy sells a service for the profit motive and the queer is to accept it without show of emotion.

Thurman L..., one of the three brothers who constantly are in "trouble with the law", illustrates part of the expected pattern of behavior so far as affective neutrality is concerned. Thurman is 15 years old and in the seventh grade of a lower status school. He has an I.Q. of 93 but a reading score of only 5.1. The father is a carhop in a parking lot. Thurman has had a continuing relationship with a queer, a type of relationship in which it would be anticipated that affective neutrality would be difficult to maintain. This relationship continued in fact with a 21 year old "gay" until he was "sent to the pen". When queried about his relationship with this gay and why he went with him, Thurman replied, "Don't know....money and stuff like that I guess". "What do you mean....stuff like that?" "Oh, clothes...." "He ever bought you any clothes?" ...."Sure, by this one gay..." "You mind being blown?" "No." "You like it?" "Don't care one way or the other...I don't like it and I don't not like it." "You like this gay?" ..."Nope, can't say I liked anything about him." ..."How come you do it then?" ...."Well the money for one thing.....I need that." "You enjoy it some?" ..."Can't say I do or don't."

More typical than Thurman's expression of affective neutrality is the boy who accepts it as "OK" or, "it's all right, I don't mind it", or most frequent of all some variant of "it's OK, but I like the money best of all". Fundamental to the definition of affective neutrality, however is only the requirement that there be no positive emotional commitment to the queer as a person. The relationship must be essentially an impersonal one so that it can be maintained as a business relationship, even though the pure form of the business relationship may seldom be attained. Thus it is possible for a boy to admit of a great deal of self-gratification without admitting of any emotional commitment to the homosexual. Some boys, like Tom below, actually prefer the male role with the fellator to some other forms of sexual gratification, particularly self gratification in masturbation. Tom expresses this sort of value preference, as the following exchange shows. "You mind it with a queer?" "No, why?" "Well, would you ever do it to one?" "No sir." "Well, why not?" "I just wouldn't....that's all." "Why?" "I like screwin' better and, I get plenty of that." "How come you go out with 'em then?" "Depends on how bad you need it and if you want money." "Which would you rather do--beat your meat or get blown?" "Get blowed." "Why?" (Laughing) "It's no work for you then! (laughs)" "Which would you rather do--get blown or screw?" "Screw.....I like that best." "You ever get bothered by going with queers though?" "Nope." "You think you'd ever be one?" "Heck no!"

Although the peer group prescribes affective neutrality toward the queer in the realtionship with adult male fellators, queers must be regarded as low status persons and held in very low esteem. There are exceptions of course, but a boy cannot have any positive cathexis for the queer, his role, nor his status. The most common way boys regard the queer as a person is to see him as "crazy, I guess". For some boys, however, a somewhat more "rationalistic" view is taken: "they're just like that I guess", or "they're just born that way". Still other boys may express the attitude, "it's OK I guess but it's not for me". The queer role itself is viewed as a means to the boy's own goals, but one which is taboo for him. In status comparisons, the queer is accorded a status below that of any member of the gang. Though in most cases both the boy and the queer are of low status origins, and in many cases both are by middle status standards "altogether repulsive in appearance, cleanliness and dress", these are not the invidious standards of comparison used.

The deviation of the queer from the norm prescribing heterosexual intercourse places the queer in the lowest possible status, even "beneath contempt".

Some boys find it difficult to maintain an attitude of neutrality toward the queer role and it's occupants since they are either personally offended or affronted by the queer's behavior. JDC is an instance of a boy who is personally offended by their behavior when it violates the conventional expectations; yet he is unable to utilize violent means when these expectations are violated. He does not rely very heavily on the peer-queer relationship as a source of income. JDC expresses his view: "I don't really go for that like some guys... I just do it when I go along with the crowd....You know, that, and when I do it for the money....and I go along....but I hate queers. They embarrass me". "How?" "Well, like you'll be in the lobby at the theatre and they'll come up and pat your ass or your prick right in front of everybody. I just can't go for that--not me." A good many boys wouldn't either, but they would use violent means in this situation. Instead of negatively sanctioning the behavior of queers who behave as JDC describes, he chooses to reject the role altogether with queers. There are two principal types of these boys--those who develop such a relationship to insure a steady income and those who do it because they become affectively involved with an adult male fellator or his role. The regular relationship which insures a steady income is permitted within the peer society, though boys who undertake it to insure a steady income do so with some since "queers can be got too easy". The boy who is affectively involved with a queer or his role is downgraded in status to a position "ain't no better'n a queer".

George A..... illustrates the case of a boy who develops a regular, i.e., continuing, relationship with an adult male fellator. George's behavior is easily permitted by his peers since it involves one other member of the gang.

One generally risks less suspicion if some other member of the group is involved in the same regular relationship. Actually what happens in such cases is that the initial contact is made in a group setting--the queer solicits the boys at the same time and they establish a basis for continuing the relationship by mutual agreement or bargaining. George describes this relationship in response to, "Gone around a lot with queers?" "Every night for a long time." "How come?" "You make money that way...I do it for money." "Where'd you get picked up?" "Eighth and Church--that's queer corner here in Nashville." "Ever go with the same one more than once?" "This same guy took two of us out every Tuesday for over a year...." "Where does he carry you?" "You know that viaduct over Broadway...well underneath that." "He just blow you?" "Yeh, but he make you wash it off first with a sponge....he won't suck no smelly dicks." "Others make you wash it?" "Naw...I never saw nor heard one that did....but, he's different.... "You like him?" "He's a good guy. I like him OK." While such a relationship appears to bring some involvement in the sense that he is seen as a "good guy" or an "OK guy", this actually is expressed from the point of view that he doesn't violate any expectations. He is a steady customer.

At times one finds a boy who is almost completely instrumental in his relationship with the adult male fellator. He holds the queer in contempt but seeks the relationship both for financial gain and sexual gratification. He attempts to maximize both ends in the relationship. This type is different from that which may accept the gratification as a kind of "fringe benefit" or a profit, but the motivation for the transaction excludes sexual gratification. Lelan F.... illustrates the type of boy where both money and sexual gratification are involved in motivating the boy to a transaction with queers. Lelan is a 16 year old boy in the ninth grade of a working-class high school. He has an I.Q. of 106 and a reading score of a seventh grade level. His father is a foreman in the produce department of a grocery chain warehouse. Lelan regularly goes to Centennial Park in the company of a close friend and they wait for "gays". "Usually it's someone we know so we just raise our arm and hail 'em when they drive by....but, if we don't, we just wait until they drive around awhile and then hail 'em." He reports they each usually get two dollars. The first time he was questioned about why he went with queers, he said "For the money....I get two bucks just about every time". Later when asked again, he said: "I like it.....if I didn't like to get blowed, I wouldn't go out with no queers". The statement is an interesting one since it so clearly expresses the status contempt for the queer who, nonetheless, is seen as an instrumental means to the goals of the boy--self gratification and gain.

In another case, that of Billy L...., a bus station habitue', an even higher preference order is given to sexual gratification from the transaction. "I used to go out with queers a lot then (before he was sent to Jordonia where he was at time of the interview). I'd hang around the bus station day and night....either at the pinball machine or in the bathroom....and I'd just wait around and some man would come up next to you and you'd figure he was the one and you'd give him the sign and he'd tell you where to meet him." Billy claims he was largely supported by income from queers for a long period of time since he was a runaway from home. He admits, "I really likes bein blowed... that queer stuff's as good as fuckin' any day". On occasion he has even been willing to do it without getting money, though he stoutly maintains that money is the main reason for his entering into the relationship. This type of boy, who is an habitue' of a place, often is a runaway and needs income to eat, etc. The queer provides such an income with a minimum of risk of being caught. Billy is a member of the Blackie Jackson's gang--a high status gang in the SMA. He comes from a very low status slum area (father is a taxi driver) where the instrumental emphasis on sexual gratification among adolescent boys is extremely high. Under such circumstances, the boy may even fail to normatively differentiate one form of sexual gratification from another--all are equally acceptable. For these lower status boys, norms no longer determine whether or not one experiences sexual gratification. Only the expectation that one will be sexually gratified is important in entering into any kind of sex activity.

The street hustler appears to be downgraded within the peer society. The few examples of peer hustlers in our interviews all had extremely low status in the peer society and generally held the status of "punk", even though the description may not have been an accurate one in all cases. Terry K.... is a street hustler. He is 15 years old and in ninth grade at a lower status high school when he isn't an habitual truant and runaway from home. He has an I.Q. of 91 and a reading score of 4.3 years. An illegitimate child (which he learned from an older brother only a few years ago), his step-father is a loader at a warehouse dock. Terry is a four time looser at Jordonia and somehow passes for a boy older than his 15 years. He has been to the City Jail four times and even sentenced to the City Workhouse. That he is more handsome than most boys by our cultural standards may be a factor in his career.

It is well known to juvenile officials that Terry is a street hustler and makes his way by queer baiting. Among the lower status boys who know him, he is "just a punk kid". There are stories that on his first incarceration at Jordonia at age 11, he was a "punk". Terry derives great pleasure from his finesse as a street hustler. He began, "If I left here right now, I'll bet you I can get picked up by a queer in 30 minutes". To a "How come it's so easy", he laughingly replied, "They say they just know me (gestures somewhat effemiately)...they just pick me up. It's always the same....they'll say something like, 'Where are you going?'....and I already know what they want, but I say...'just riding'...and they say they're just riding too and, let's just ride together and, that's it". Terry works the "better trade"--gays in Class A hotels and motels, as well as being a pick-up on street corners. He rates as at the top those "...who know how to do it...you know....really experienced, and give you a good time with it...like this man I met at the Andrew Jackson (a Class A hotel)...he was a salesman... I'll bet he spent $200 on me. Like one night we started out early and went to see Pal Joey and then we went out to eat at a real fine place where the waitress brought the food....I won't eat no food touched by a queer". "How come?" "(Incredulously) Well, I just won't touch it...you won't eat no food touched by a queer." "And then what did you do?" "I ate all I could...real expensive food...and then they brought in a case of beer and the two of us drank it...I can drink a half of case of beer like that it won't get me, but wine and whiskey will....And then we went back to the hotel and he blowed me a coupla times and he gave me fifty bucks. He really knows how to give a good time."

The street hustler pretty much "goes it alone". Terry is not a member of any organized delinquent group of boys and he was classified as a non-conforming isolate in this study. He is not a career-oriented delinquent in the sense of the delinquent gang and though he has a record of delinquent offenses, his principal orientation seems to be that of hustling. This boy probably will follow a career as a hustler until he is in his early thirties and it becomes more or less closed to him.

There is one other type of boy who is deeply committed to a continuing relationship with an adult male fellator. This is the boy who develops a dependency relationship with a queer or enters into a courtship with one.

Our interviews did not provide an example of a courtship, but this type of relationship culminates in "marriage"(in prisons)for adult men. It is doubted whether "the marriage" occurs ever in training schools for delinquent boys since "the courtship" takes an extended period of time to culimate in "marriage". Some delinquent boys (who may be "latently homosexual") form attachments with older males, however. The older male "keeps them" much as the "cabin boy" of old. This delinquent boy also is clearly outside the peer society of delinquents. Paul D.... illustrates such a case. Paul is a boy of low intelligence who is not accepted in any peer group although he has made repeated attempts to enter one. Paul describes his relationship with two regulars before incarceration. "Well this one guy lives in North Nashville and he'd usually take me to Morgan Park and I don't always get somethin' from him." "And the other?" "Frank lives in East Nashville. He's got an apartment house there on tenth and ________. I'd meet him at his place mostly but once in awhile at the Jackson....you see I'd cut school and I'd just go down to his place." Where does he work?" "He don't work. He's got this big apartment building and some other stuff, I guess....he's always there." "Did you stay there at nights too?" "Lotsa times...week-ends mostly, but other times too...I'd tell Mama I was stayin' with Bob or Jim or some other guy and she'd believe me." "What does he do to you?" "Blows me." "Anything else?" "No...just that and plays around with it a lot." "Where do you usually do it?" "In the bath room...we take off our clothes and he sets down and sucks me." "You do anything?" "I play with him." "You ever blow him?" "No." "Would you if he asked?" "(Pause).....I guess so...he ain't never asked me." "You like it?" "(With real enthusiasm) Yeh, it's real fun." "You like it as well as screwin?" "Yeh I get as much fun outa one as outa the other.....don't make no difference to me." "You going to see Frank when you get out?" (reference to his impending release from Jordonia) "He comes to see me here." "And when you get out?" "He goes down to Florida a lot and he says we can go down there....I guess so." Paul also was questioned about his experiences with other boys in the training school. "What kind of sex you had out here?" "Well...it ain't easy out here. They watch you so close and if you get caught you get sent to the clothing room or Jackson (Jackson is a closed cell dormitory where disciplinary cases are kept). "Well, do you get anything?" "Well....just on Friday nights... You see on Friday nights we clean up for inspection and me and two other boys has the lavatory and shower room and we get a chance then." "For what?" "For cornholin'." "You get cornholed?" "Most of the time and once in awhile I get to do it to them (doubtful whether he does, however)." "Where?" "Well, like we get down on the floor in the shower room but mostly behind them lockers....you know them lockers in rows...and we cut down back of them."

Additional information about this boy suggests that peer isolation is of some importance in his attachment to an adult male fellator. Paul is always at the fringe of some gang trying to get in. His sociometric choices--all of which are rejected--are in three relatively distinct delinquent gangs. At the same time, the father, as Paul describes him, is a "sot" and he finds no acceptable relationship at home. For him, an adult male fellator is both emotionally supportive and financially supporting. And, he isn't very "bright". Yet this same syndrome might be found in other boys and other solutions may be chosen. The exploration done in this research study cannot test any of these speculations.

(4). The last major peer norm to be discussed holds that peershould not use violent means in relations with queers unless the queer violates the expectations of the role relationship as the peer group defines it. It is not known, of course, whether adult male fellators who seek out these delinquent boys share these definitions. Their violation of the expectations, therefore, may arise through ignorance rather than from any attempt to go beyond these shared expectations.

There are several ways in which the queer can violate the expectations of boys. The first is in respect to the norm regarding money. Either refusal to pay or paying too little may bring violence to the queer. In a few of the examples used earlier in this chapter, boys referred to using force as a means of getting paid. Some boys will grow hostile toward the queer if they think he is trying to cheat on them. On the other hand, a few boys tell of taking less than they expected "because the queer didn't have any more money". What they may not know is that adult male fellators often do not take a great deal of money with them, so that they risk little loss of money if they are rolled.

The second major way in which the fellators may violate peer expectations is by attempting to go beyond the mouth-genital sexual act. If he does make such an attempt, he is quite likely to be beaten, rolled or otherwise made the object of aggression. The following excerpt from Dolly's sex history illustrates this point well. "You like it?" "Its OK...I don't mind it...It feels OK." "They ever try anything else on you?" "They usually just blows and that's all...." "Any ever try anything else on you?" "Oh sure, but we really fix 'em. I just hit 'em on the head or roll 'em....throw 'em out of the car.... Once a guy tried that and we rolled him and threw him out of the car....then we took the car and stripped it (laughs with great relish)."

The third major way in which the queer violates boy's expectations is to introduce considerable affect into the relationship. It appears that affect is least acceptable in two forms. One form is that the queer treats the adolescent boy as if he were a girl or in a girl's role, to call him "Sweetie" for example. There are many reasons why such a role is unacceptable to a lower status boy including the fact that lower status boys seem to place considerable emphasis on being "tought" and masculine. Walter Miller, for example observes that the "almost obessive lower class concern with 'masculinity' probably derives from a type of compulsive reaction-formation. A concern over homosexuality runs like a persistent thread through lower class culture--manifested by the institutionalized practice of 'baiting queers', often accompanied by violent physical attacks, an expressed contempt for 'softness' or frills, and the use of the local term for 'homosexual' as a general perjorative epithet (e.g., higher class individuals or upwardly mobile peers are frequently characterized as 'fags' or 'queers'".[6] Miller sees the violence as part of a reaction-formation against the matriarchal lower status household where the father often is absent. For this reason many lower status boys find it difficult to identify with a male role, and the "collective" reaction-formation is a cultural emphasis on "masculinity". The violence toward queers is seen as a consequence of this conflict. Data from our interviews suggests that violation of expectations in the peer-queer relationship is at least a major factor in precipitating the violence. Earlier, mention was made of gangs which practiced queer-baiting in order to derive pleasure from aggression toward them. Perhaps, as Miller suggests, the violence toward the queer who is not a "masculine target" reflects some fundamental concern with masculinity among lower status males.

Mention has been made of the necessity of controlling violence toward queers in the interest of preserving the organized system of relationships which define it as a business transaction. If our reasoning is correct, that violence generally follows only when one of the major peer norms has been violated, then it would seem to follow that violence is a means of enforcing the peer entrepreneurial norms of the system. That is, violence is used as a means of keeping adult male fellators in line with their expectations of him as a customer. Violence represents in this sense a form of social control--a punishment meted out to the queer who violates the cultural expectations. So long as the queer seeks gratification from lower status boys in a casual pickup or continuing relationship where he pays money for a "blow job", he is reasonably free from the threat of violence.

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[6] See Walter Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14, 1958.

Another major way in which the queer may violate the affective neutrality requirement is to approach the boy either when he is with peers of his own or of the opposite sex and to make "suggestive sexual advances". In either case, the queer's sexual "advances" suggest that the boy is not engaged in a business relationship within the conventional expectations of the system, but has sexual motivation as well. The boy is expected to control the relationship with a queer. He is the entrepreneur "looking" for easy money, or at least he can appear no more than receptive to business, and this means that he is receptive only in certain situations and under certain circumstances. He is not in business when he is with girls and he is not a business man when he is cast in a female role. To be cast in a female role before peers is particularly unacceptable as the following case suggests. "This gay comes up to me in the lobby at the Empress when we was standin' around and starts feeling me up and callin' me Sweetie and like that....and I just couldn't take none of that there....what was he makin' out like I was a queer or somethin'... so I jumps him right then and there and we like to a knocked his teeth out right there." The sexual advance is even less acceptable when a girl is involved. 'I was walkin' down the street with my steady girl when this queer drives by that I'd been with once before and he whistles at me and calls, "hi sweetie", and was I mad....so I went down to where the boys was and we laid for him and beat on him til he like to a never come to....I ain't gonna take nothin like that off'n a queer." In both of these instances, not only is the boy's masculinity under attact, but the affective neutrality requirement is violated as well. The behavior is particularly unacceptable, however, because it occurs in a peer setting where the maintenance of the boy's status within the group is most important. That is, the boy cannot afford to be cast in a less than masculine role before girls, and he cannot risk the definition as a queer before his peers. Thus his role with in the peer groups is under threat even if he suffers no anxiety about his masculinity. It also must be remembered that not only the boy but his peer group perceives such behavior as a threat and joins him in violent acts toward the queer who deviates from their expectations.

The operation of the peer norms in the delinquent peer-adult male fellator relationship perhaps can be seen more clearly by examining a single case history of a boy. While the case of James M.... below should in no sense be regarded as "typical" (it is difficult to know what is meant by a typical case history), the case illustrates well the distinctive subcultural and peer society elements operating in the behavior. James M... is 17 years old, has an I.Q. of 89 and a Stanford reading test score of 6.6 grade, although he is in twelfth grade at a predominately lower status high school. He was an illegitimate child at birth and his "father" was killed in World War II. The following are the excerpts from the part of the sex history referring to his relationship with adult male fellators.

MB: "You had any other kind of sex experience?"

JM: (After a long pause and looking away) "...Yeh."

MB: "Like what?"

JM: "Like with gays.... (I didn't say anything).....You know, queers."

MB: "How often do you do that?"

JM: "Well not much anymore, I'd rather not have it that way. I like girls so much better."

MB: "Yeh?"

JM: "Yeh, you know how it is, particularly if they got good rhythm. They're so much better. And then, you know after you've done it with a girl, you know you feel like you want to do it again, while after you done it with a queer like that you feel as if you'd given out everything and just want to quit."

MB: "Yeh."

JM: "Yeh, you know they're really crazy some of them...."

MB: "Like how?"

JM: "Well the way they act...."

MB: "Like what?"

JM: "Well, some act like girls--you know they act like they're a girl when they're doing it to you.

MB: "Like how?"

JM: "Some of 'em even say things like "Make me honey" and call you sweetheart and say things like that just like a girl would. And, they act like a girl when she gets worked up, and when they're blowin you like that they act just like a girl--positions and all that.

MB: "I don't know, how...."

JM: "Oh, they do it different ways...but even if they want you to lie down or anything like that they still act like a girl. I do it however they want me to act."

MB: "How do you feel about it?"

JM: "Well, I feel like they're crazy and I wished I hadn't done it."

MB: "Why?"

JM: "Well, I don't feel right about it and I don't particularly like it, but I do it when I need the money. I like money.

MB: "You get paid a lot?"

JM: "The most I ever got was ten dollars. But I only got that once--usually five dollars, but some gets more than that."

MB: "How much?"

JM: "Well, you probably wouldn't believe this, but there's a guy here in North Nashville.....They call him Squeezer, and you wouldn't believe this, but that guy pays guys just to squeeze him. He gets a charge out of a strong guy squeezin him. You know that guy who gave me the sign when you got me last period--well, it's his brother who does it to him. His brother's a big guy and he squeezes him. And you know what that guy gives him for that...He's bought him about a '46 car for that for about $200 and he gives him other money and all the time...(laughs)...Boy that guy is crazy but he pays real well. And there's another guy, not in North Nashville here...you may know the boy he runs around with...but he took this boy up to---you know Davitts (a swank men's shop) uptown...well he bought him about fifteen or twenty dollars worth of clothes there at least a coupla times..."

ME: "You ever go with the same one for a time?"

JM: "Some...not many. I really know em...You can really tell 'em. I went with one or two for awhile..."

ME: "How'd you meet em?"

JM: "Well, if they really likes you and want you again, they tell you where they'll meet you. But I don't need the same one--I know where I can get one any time I want."

ME: "Where?"

JM: "Well like Fifth and Deadrick--you know around where the Greyhound... the bus station. They hang around there all the time and you can tell 'em."

ME: "How?"

JM: "Well you know it's funny, but just about all of 'em is real big guys. Some of 'em is wrestlers, I'll bet."

ME: "All of em big?"

JM: "Well, just about everyone I have been with is and that's quite a few..."

ME: "You always get paid?"

JM: "Well, there's a few of 'em who try not to...tell you they don't have any money and they try to get out of it, but I get rough with 'em and they come through....Course some of 'ems pretty big, but I've gotten my money all but once or twice."

ME: "How'd you get into this?"

JM: "Well, this friend of mine and I were, you know...over on 8th Street and he told me about it and said you could tell these guys and I didn't believe him. So he said wait..,and he pointed out this car that kept comin around the block and he said that was one--and the guy came around again and he motioned over to the sidewalk like this (jerks thumb) and the guy pulled over and we got in....he took on both of us..."

MB: "At the same time?"

JM: "Nope...he left one of us off at BILLS and took the other guy out and then he came back and picked me up..."

MB: "You ever been with others with a queer?"

JM: "No, I don't go for that one, but some does...I know some..."

MB: "Like how?"

JM: "Well, you know like some queers works in pairs and one of em will be workin' on him somewhere like kissin him or somethiug just like girls, while the other is blowin' him.....I just don't go for that... It's not for me."

MB: "When's the last time you did it..."

JM: "It's been a coupla months...since I went with this girl. I don't aim to do it again--unless maybe I get in a fix where I need the money, but I don't figure on that, cause I'm workin' now...."

Terminating the Relationship

Under what circumstances does a boy give up getting money by baiting queers. Is it altogether an individual matter or are there group bases for getting out? There is little information available on this point as the interviews were largely conducted with boys who still were participants in the role relationship. A few interviews suggest ways in which it occurs, however.

It should be pointed out that among lower status adolescent boys, age is an important factor in determining whether or not one participates in the relationship. The older boys are more likely to have given up queers as a source of income. Several boys gave as their reason, "I got a job and don't need that kind of money now". Another older boy who recently married said that he had quit when he got married; while another indicated in response to the question, "When do you think you'll quit?", "When I quit school, I reckon... I don't know a better way to make money afore then". Still some other boys simply said that they didn't care to make money that way anymore, or since they've got a steady girl, and so on.

We suspect that the reason that older boys are more likely to give it up as a means of making money is different for the career-oriented than for the peer-oriented delinquent boy. For, as the career-oriented delinquent gets older, the more serious crimes direct his activity and the group becomes more actively involved in these activities. These activities are status conferring and the boy has a "rep" to maintain. Queer baiting clearly contributes very little if anything to a rep. While it is easy money, easy money from queers does not confer status and in fact the longer one gets it this way the more one risks one's rep--there is a suspicion of harboring a queer. For these and other reasons perhaps the older career-oriented delinquent boy gives up queer baiting just as they often give up petty theft and malicious destruction of property. These are activities for younger boys.

The peer-oriented delinquent as he gets older enters the adult corner boy group. As he gets older too, a job becomes one of the acceptable ways of behaving in this group. If one gets enough money from a job, there is little reason for queer-baiting. Again one risks loss of status if one is solicited at this age for this is the age when one is more likely to move from one steady girl to another, and even perhaps settle on one or get married as often one "has to".

Regardless of the reasons for moving out, it seems clear that most boys do move out of their role as a 'prostitute' and not on to a career as a hustler. The main reason perhaps that most boys do not move on to a career as a hustler is that the boy never conceived of himself in a hustling role or as a participant in a career line where there was a status gradation among hustlers. Hustling to the peer hustler is simply another one of the activities which characterizes a rather versatile pattern of deviating acts. It is in this sense too, perhaps, that we have reason to conclude that these boys are not involved in the activity primarily for its homosexual basis. Peer hustlers are primarily oriented toward either delinquent, and later criminal, careers or toward conventional conformity in lower status society. They will become neither hustlers nor queers.

Gathering Information for Sex Histories. The original plan of the study did not call for investigating sex deviation. The main reason for excluding the topic from inquiry were two, it did not seem that reliable information could be gathered on sex behavior in a questionnaire administered in a school classroom and, it was doubtful whether the respective boards of education could grant a "blanket approval" for such inquiry through the interview. How then did we happen to undertake this inquiry?

The principal investigator was unaware of the peer-queer subculture and its peer organization at the time interviewing was begun. When some of the interviews were completed, one of the school principals called the phenomenon to his attention and wondered whether something could be learned about it since it was an "administrative problem" to him as a principal and since one of the pick-up points was located outside his school athletic field. It was agreed, therefore, that some preliminary investigation of the problem could be undertaken in his school, although it would be approached from the "sex history" perspective. Later this inquiry was broadened to include some subjects in over one-half of all the schools. In this way sex histories were gathered from 18.6 percent of the 1008 interview subjects. As Table IX-1 discloses on inspection, however, the largest number of these boys are lower status delinquent boys. There is a reason for this concentration of interview cases in this lower status delinquent group. When it was learned that there was a strong relationship between peer delinquency in the lowest stratum and the instrumental relationship which boys establish with adult male fellators, an attempt was made to learn more about this as an organized peer group and a subcultural phenomen. Sex histories, therefore, were obtained from all of the Nashville SMA boys who were resident in the State Training School for boys during the month of June, 1958.

The way in which sex history information was obtained precludes making reliable estimates about the incidence or prevalence of the behavior within the adolescent boy population. It also does not permit one to calculate an experience rate. Yet the comparisons among types of conformers and deviators in Table IX-1 may serve to provide a more informed "guess" about where it occurs and its extent. It can be readily seen that these are only two cases of middle status boys who reported experience in the peer-queer transaction. In one of these cases, the boy had only been "exposed" and his experience could be considered that of a boy who "submitted to solicitation". In the other case, the boy had been sent to the State Training School and acquired sufficient "background" there to lead to "exposure" following his release. Within the lower status group, it seems clear that the career-oriented delinquent is most likely to report sex experience with queers. Roughly, three of every five boys report such experiences as contrasted with the peer-oriented delinquent, the type with the next highest relative frequency, where only about one in three report such experiences.

Conformers seem to be characterized about equally of boys who either report a history of heterosexual and masturbation experience, or masturbation

TABLE IX-1: -- TYPE OF SEX EXPERIENCE BY CONFORMING-DEVIANT SYNDROME

Type of Sex Experience	Per Cent by Conforming-Deviant Syndromes										
	Lower Class				Middle Class			All Classes			
	Org. Career Delinq.	Peer Oriented Delinq.	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Peer Directed Delinquent	Conforming Non-Achiever	Conforming Achiever	Hyper-Conformer	Non-Conforming Isolate	Conforming Isolate	Total
Total	73	166	250	81	38	86	193	56	24	41	1008
Queers, Masturbation, and Heterosexual	32.5	27.3	5.1	20.0	--	10.0	--	--	37.5	--	17.6
Queers, Masturbation, Hetero and Animal	30.2	4.5	--	--	5.0	--	--	--	--	--	8.5
Heterosexual Only	4.7	11.4	--	--	70.0	30.0	--	--	12.5	--	13.4
Heterosexual and Masturbation a/	25.6	34.1	33.3	40.0	15.0	10.0	40.0	--	25.0	--	27.3
Masturbation Only	2.3	15.9	48.7	40.0	--	10.0	40.0	57.1	25.0	100.0	21.9
Denies Sex Exp.	4.7	6.8	12.8	--	10.0	40.0	20.0	42.9	0.0	--	11.2
Subtotal	43	44	39	5	20	10	10	7	8	1	187
No Sex History	41.1	73.5	84.4	93.8	47.4	88.4	94.8	87.5	66.7	97.6	81.4

a) Includes 3 cases of Heterosexual, Masturbation, and Animal (2 Lower Class Org. Career Delinq. and 1 Peer Oriented Delinq.).

only experience, while Hyperconformers either report no sex experience or that they masturbate only.

Taking into account the proportional distribution of types of conformers and deviators in a school population of adolescent boys and applying in a very rough way the proportional distribution for type of sex deviation set forth in Table IX-1, one is inclined to conclude that the experience rate with queers is quite low in the population of adolescent boys as a whole. But one would expect it to be quite high among lower status delinquent boys, particularly career-oriented delinquent boys. This type of delinquent deviation--the peer-queer relationship--seems to be a behavior limited almost exclusively to lower status delinquent boys.

It might also be inferred from this type of comparison that the adolescent conforming boy of lower status origins in our society is very unlikely to report he does not even masturbate, though a substantial proportion of middle status conforming boys maintain they do not even masturbate and never have masturbated. Although some of these boys as they grow older will masturbate, still the status difference may remain. It is possible of course that this reflects only a difference in willingness to report to a middle status investigator, i.e., middle status boys are more likely to "hide" their sexual experience, even that of masturbation, from others. Certainly, lower status boys reported masturbating in groups when they first began to masturbate, while this appears to be much less common among middle status boys. It is a "private" matter for middle status boys. The same thing is true for heterosexual experience. Lower status boys, particularly delinquent ones, frequently report they participate in "gang-bangs". They also more often report heterosexual behavior with a girl in large group dating situations. Heterosexual experience appears to be more of a "private experience", i.e., a couple experience for the middle status boy. The "gang-bang" in particular is less common.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to characterize one form of sex deviation as arising from induction into the activity in a group setting where the group defines it as acceptable behavior if it occurs within a set of normative expectations which define a peer-queer role relationship. The data are admittedly fragmentary since the investigation is essentially exploratory in nature and one might accept the analysis as characteristic of the anecdotal technique in the social sciences. Certainly the induction from the data in no sense constitutes a test of the "explanation offered". Some may see considerable evidence for other hyptheses about this form of sex deviation. Pyschoanalytically oriented theorists may find considerable evidence for hypotheses about latent homosexuality, for example. Social stratification theorists might well interpret the data within the framework of class cultural orientations toward sex, and so on. Nonetheless, assuming that the logical inductions offered in this chapter are valid, particularly those logical inductions which attempt to show that it is part of a subculture maintained by organized peer groups based on the fact that the group often inducts into the activity, that members share norms governing expectations in the peer-queer role relationship, and that the group strongly sanctions deviations from these expectations by both peers and queers, then such theories ought to take account of these facts as well.

It must be remembered, however, that no explanation of either adult male homosexuality, nor of all sexual transactions between adolescent boys and adult male homosexuals is offered in this chapter. Rather an explanation of the motivation of boys in delinquent gangs to permit older males to perform mouth genital fellatio in exchange for money is offered. The explanation views the activity as a special form of prostitution. An explanation is offered as to how this form arises together with a description of how the relationship itself is socially organized.

School principals and teachers and parents and citizens alike will probably view the foregoing record with feelings of moral revulsion and want to do something about it. One of our school principals managed at one point to get a number of boys in his school to admit to their practices and to "name names" of persons in the community who were seen as "the exploiters" of the boys. While all of the boys agreed to present evidence to the grand jury, none of them "showed". Other officials in public office report similar frustrating experiences in attempting to "stamp out" the practice. Yet none of them perceived that this was a phenomenon which cannot simply be "stamped out" because of its tenacious roots in a lower status delinquent peer society which exploits the adult male homosexual. All viewed it simply as a most serious form of exploitation of youth.

The laws of our society and the public person regard the adolescent as exploited if he has relations with an adult male homosexual. On the basis of the evidence offered in this chapter, it is difficult to perceive of the relationship as one other than that of mutual exploitation. For the most part, it is an instrumental act for both the boy and the queer. And most of the boys "grow out of it", perhaps, without continuing homosexual activity. The act of sexual deviation described in this chapter can only be understood and dealt with by seeing it as one of a series of ways lower status boys get money and other forms of gratification. The particular type described is selected in part, perhaps, because it is one of those versatile activities which most affronts middle status morality, a phenomenon which Cohen suggests is characteristic of the content of the lower status delinquent subculture. If it is viewed in this way, it must be seen as but another patterned deviation of lower status boys seeking a solution to a common set of problems, perhaps generated by status.

Whether or not it is viewed as a cultural reaction-formation, the problem cannot be dealt with apart from its setting in the lower status delinquent peer society, particularly the society of career oriented delinquent boys. It is here that it probably has its origin.

Chapter X

An Abstract of 'A Socio-Psychological Study of Conformity and Deviation Among Adolescents'

A persistent problem in modern society, it is said, is that of adolescent nonconformity. Modern times are seen as a period in which the norms and values of adolescents supplant or conflict with those of the adults in the Great Society. These views of adolescents are held in a context where little is known about how adolescents view the major cultural goals in our society nor is it known how many actually depart from the conduct expected of them. A major object of this study therefore has been to describe the extent to which adolescents accept the major cultural goals and institutionalized means for reaching them. At the same time their school and vocational aspirations and achievement, their behavioral deviation from school and community norms in the form of truancy, dropping from school or delinquency and their desires to be allowed to behave in other ways are analyzed to see whether the place which an adolescent and his family has in the social structure affects his behavior. Three major objectives therefore are pursued in the report: (1) a description of the conduct norms endorsed by adolescents who attend school; (2) a description and analysis of some of the factors accounting for differences among adolescents in accepting the major cultural goals and means for reaching them; (3) investigation of the differences in life chances of adolescents for behavior deviation.

Not all of the major hypotheses originally set forth for investigation are confirmed in this study, although support was found for a large number of them. Only the major findings which appear to hold for the procedures utilized in this study for getting valid knowledge are presented here. Policy recommendations are based on a number of these findings. These policy implications do not follow directly from the investigation, however. The policy recommendations are based on judgements about the facts of the inquiry and how certain values might them be reached.

The Nashville Standard Metropolitan Area was selected as the research site. The universe of adolescents studied was defined as all boys and girls enrolled in grades 7 through 12 in the public, private andparochial schools. The design of the research required that all pupils in the universe complete a questionnaire providing information on their attitudes toward social norms, their aspirations, their conceptions of their own behavior. The actual number of questionnaires completed was 21,679 of which 83.7 per cent are white and 15.8 Negro. Information on school performance and achievement, withdrawl from school and delinquency and truancy in the community also was obtained for boys and girls in the universe.

From the universe of white boys a two per cent random sample was drawn. These boys and their two closest friends were interviewed. Interviews also were obtained from boys characterized by types of conforming and deviating conduct, e.g., juvenile court offenders and hyperconformers. In all 1027 boys were interviewed and given a schedule which provides information on the deviating conduct of the boy, his relationship with parents and peers, how he spends his leisure time and the structure of his personality system.

Although, a number of ways for drawing valid inferences from the data are followed in the study, the principle technique was that of partial association analysis. The nonparametric sign test then was used as a test of statistical significance.

One way to view the behavior of adolescents is to see them as motivated toward cultural goals by using means which are institutionalized in the society. Contemporary American society places great emphasis on cultural success goals without placing an equivalent emphasis on means. This relative lack of emphasis on the selection of legitimate means results in members of the society selecting

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illegitimate means to reach culturally approved goals. To what extent do adolescents accept the cultural success goals and what means are approved as appropriate to success?

Most adolescents are oriented toward the success goal of making money but the older an adolescent gets, the less likely one is to be satisfied with making the same amount of money as one's father. By age 16, regardless of one's status origin, in fact over one-half of all boys still in school want to make more money than does their father. The American success ideology then progressively leads adolescent boys toward accepting the cultural success goal, to be successful you must make more money than your father. This emphasis on making more money than one's father is part of a more general cultural emphasis in American society. To be successful you must achieve higher status than your father--you must be upward mobile. The emphasis on the goal of upward mobility is seen in part by examining the occupational aspirations of boys.

Investigation of the occupational aspirations of boys in American Society who are still in high school shows that these aspirations not only are tremendously influenced by the cultural emphasis on becoming upwardly mobile--to better oneself--but also by the cultural emphasis on selecting the professions and their related technical occupations as the logical choices for getting ahead. If one views the selection of a manual occupation as a downwardly mobile aspiration for a white collar boy and conversely the selection of a white collar occupation as an upwardly mobile aspiration for a blue-collar boy, then we find that in all I.Q. and socioeconomic status subgroups of adolescent boys except that of low I.Q., low status boys, the majority of boys are upwardly mobile in the selection of their occupation.

The tremendous prestige accorded the professions is evident in the choices of boys, although they select from only a narrow range within the professions--

medical doctors, engineers, law and accounting, pilot and professional athlete account for the majority of all professional choices of boys. At the same time boys clearly do not choose the capitalist or entrepreneurial occupations in large enough numbers to even fill the opportunities which will occur in the occupational structure of the United States. Whether this reflects a general tendency to devalue business as over against professional goals is not known. Interview data suggest that boys select the professions in such large numbers because the professions have both high prestige and relative ease of access as contrasted with the business, particularly entrepreneurial occupations, which are difficult of access.

The occupational expectations mothers hold for their sons are closer to the occupational aspirations of sons for boys of white-collar than of blue-collar origins. Interpreting these differences as a generational difference in mobility aspirations one would say that on the average blue-collar mothers are more likely to want the sons to be upwardly mobile than are the sons themselves than is the case of white-collar mothers and sons. The latter of course do not "have as far to go."

Another major success goal society holds forth for adolescents is to get a "good education" although the criteria of what is a good education are not altogether clear and no precise goal as to amount is specified other than that one is compelled to go to school until legally permitted to withdraw. The preferred amount of education however seems to be that of a college education since many more adolescents want to go to college than will ever enter college. In fact, one is impressed with the conclusion that the educational norms of American Society, the expectations parents hold for their child's educational attainment and the educational aspirations of the child are well beyond the opportunities open in American Society. The society generally guarantees only a high school education and all but 10 per cent of the adolescents in this study agreed that most people ought to get at least that amount. Yet almost one-fourth of the boys and girls in the Nashville Area will not even get that much education. Again, over four-fifths want to go on to college but less than one-half of these will actually do so.

Here is considerable variation in the norm of how much education most people should get depending upon one's group position in American Society and one's past achievement pattern or potential in academic performance. Blue-collar, low I.Q., white girls are least likely to prescribe college education as a norm; still even one in four of them perceive it as a norm. The high I.Q. white and Negro boy from white-collar families is most likely to see a college education as a goal for everyone. There is evidence here that one sees educational goals the way most others in one's social position see it. Although it may seem strange that white boys with high I.Q.'s coming from families of high socioeconomic status--an aggregate where the probability of going to college is high--are most likely to see the cultural goal as a college education for most people (not just themselves) and conversely that those who are least likely to go are least likely to prescribe a college education for most people (even if they can't offord it), the perception of a cultural goal is to a large degree a function of the life chances of a group. That this is not altogether the case however is apparent by comparing Negro and white adolescent perceptions of educational norms. Southern Negroes in a metropolitan area attach generally greater importance to getting an education than do comparable sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status subgroups of white adolescents.

The investigation of adolescent perceptions of how much education most people ought to get, of the value they place on going to school and how they see education as a means of getting ahead in our society, discloses some important differences for race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status subgroups in the population.

(1) Negroes require a somewhat higher level of educational attainment for the general population, place a substantially greater value on schooling and are more likely to see education as a means of getting ahead than are whites.

(2) Girls are more likely than boys to place greater emphasis on the exclusive value of schooling even though boys require that the general population should on the average get more education and they more often choose a college education as the best means to get ahead in life (girls more often think it is a "pleasing personality").

(3) Adolescents from blue-collar origins value schooling more than do those of white-collar origins even though the latter think most people ought to go farther in school. They differ little however in their perceptions of the value of education as a means of getting ahead in life.

(4) Low I.Q. boys and girls agree that schooling is more important to them than do high I.Q. boys and girls but they are less likely to set a college education as the goal for most people, although, I.Q. seems to make little difference in valuing education as a means of getting ahead.

How does one account for these differences? One might reason the following way:

(1) Negroes should place relatively greater emphasis on education than do whites since it is their major avenue to social mobility in American Society. The advent of school desegregation in many cities and states places high emphasis too on the school as an equality institution; it therefore is valued for these reasons as well.

The relatively strong influence of this difference in cultural emphasis which Negroes and whites place on education can be seen from the fact that low socioeconomic status, low I.Q., Negro girls are among those most given to endorsing education as a means for achieving success in getting ahead. The subgroup perhaps least likely in American Society to have the preparation, ability and background for higher education places an extremely high valuation on it nonetheless as a consequence of the impact of cultural values.

(2) Girls apparently value schooling and achievement in it more than do boys. They also are better rewarded for achievement than are boys. But boys nonetheless clearly see it as a means of getting ahead than do girls. This is not too surprising since girls must rely more on "personality" to get ahead than do boys; girls must more carefully pursue the dual career line, a job if not marriage.

(3) It was not expected that lower socioeconomic status and low I.Q. adolescents would consider schooling more important to them than high status and high I.Q. adolescents. Yet this is the case. They also seem as likely to value a college education as a best means of getting ahead though they are less likely to set the goal of a college education for most people. Why should this subgroup place such great emphasis on these cultural goals? It is possible that the emphasis stems from the relative differences in access to these goals--low I.Q. and low socioeconomic status persons have the least access to them, yet they recognize their importance in our society and therefore place great emphasis upon them. Middle and upper status children in particular can take the opportunities of education for granted. They have "always known" they will go to college but, lower status children must strive for a college education if they are to get one at all. They must put first things first and, the first thing is to get an education.

(4) But, why should low I.Q. boys and girls place such a high value on schooling? Reasoning leads us to the conclusion that the school is the more

democratic of the status inequality situations for the low I.Q. child. Since egalitarianism is perhaps maximized for them in this environment, satisfaction also is greatest.

Courtship activity is usually first associated with adolescence in American Society. The major goals of activity in courtship are "the date" and marriage. Many school officials show concern over "high school marriages" even though the national statistics on age at marriage show only a very small increase. Still an important question is, would adolescent norms give support to a substantial increase in the rate of marriage of adolescents in school? The answer seems clearly no except for a minority. About 15 per cent of all adolescents think that one should be allowed to marry while going to high school though there is some variation by age and socioeconomic status so that almost three of every 10 white girls and two of every 10 white boys of low socioeconomic status agree with this permissive statement of the norm. The higher rate of acceptance of marrying while going to high school for white girls in the low socioeconomic status subgroup of our society is not surprising. Girls in this subgroup also have the highest dropout rate of any age-sex-socioeconomic status subgroup and it is known that most of these girls withdraw to get married, often to older boys who already have left school.

An even smaller minority of adolescents--only eight per cent--think young people should be allowed to marry without parents approval. Boys interestingly enough are less willing to seek parents approval than are girls but it includes only 12 per cent of all boys. For the large majority of boys and girls in high school even when their age and status origin are taken into account, marriage appears to be a matter outside the adolescent peer society.

But dating clearly is not. Not only do a majority of all adolescents say they date quite frequently, but somewhat more than half believe they should be allowed to "date whom you want to." Of course the older one is the more likely an adolescent is to feel that dating whom one wants is a perogative in choice of a dating partner.

The cultural emphasis on dating in schools is well documented in other studies so it was not explored in any detail in this investigation. To return to the original question however, is there much likelihood that marriage while going to high school will become an adolescent norm? It is maintained here there is not much danger of a substantial increase in the marriage of adolescents in high school unless the culture of the peer group is radically changed, since marriage is destructive of the norms on which the adolescent peer culture rests--dating. The norms adolescents hold regarding dating and marriage preclude a substantial increase.

A problem which many parents of adolescents find quite troublesome is the control of how their children will spend their time, particularly the evening hours. Adolescents in this investigation in the aggregate do not feel committed to a norm which obligates parents to keep their children home "after supper on school nights." A majority feel adolescents should be allowed to go out and a majority do go out on school nights. It is evident then that if the parent is concerned to control evening hours of adolescent children, the aggregate peer norm is against them in the sense that control cannot be extended to keeping them home on school nights. After supper is more a peer time than a family time for the adolescent, even for the conforming ones.

How do adolescents relate to activities which are proscribed for them such as drinking and gambling? Remembering that Nashville lies within the fundamental religious culture of the United States, a substantial minority of boys, particularly of older and of low socioeconomic status, condone drinking and admit to having been drunk. An even larger proportion think gambling is acceptable.

Girls however differ very much from boys in this respect. They clearly are the "guardians of morality" in respect to gambling and drinking.

The major goals in American Society can be reached by a diversity of means, some approved as legitimate and some disapproved as illegitimate means to goals. How do adolescents see some of these means to cultural goals?

Education of course is a legitimate means to getting ahead in American Society. But more adolescents see hard work than a college education as a means to getting ahead. Girls in fact place a "pleasing personality and being likeable" ahead of getting a college education although boys do not. Still a college education runs a very poor second for boys--only slightly more than half as many boys see a college education as see hard work as the best means to get ahead in American Society.

It is well known that athletic competition is a highly valued activity in American culture, particularly among males. This is true perhaps to an even greater degree for adolescents. Many virtues are attributed to organized athletic experiences including their values for success in life. This study shows that at least nine of every 10 girls and boys believe that "athletic sports teach you how to get along with others" for example. Boys, in fact, are as likely to place as high a value on athletics as they are on religion as an aid in life.

Exploring adolescent orientations toward illegitimate means, it is found that a sizeable minority believe that it is all right to break rules in the interest of mobility aspirations--to get ahead in life. Boys are considerably more likely to justify breaking rules to get ahead than are girls providing further evidence of the role of girls as the guardians of morality in our society. No where is their guardian role more apparent than in the large sex difference observed in justifying dishonest business practices such as false advertising, sharp trading, etc. At least one-fourth of all adolescent boys but only one in every 10 girls condones such means to the goal of making money. The evidence found in this investigation suggests that even among adolescents who have not as yet entered the competitive world of buying and selling, there is a substantial minority of boys who will tolerate a great many "questionable moral practices" if making money is at stake.

Although the mores strongly proscribe stealing, a minority of perhaps one in 20 boys (although only about one in every 50 girls) will condone stealing "if everybody is doing it" or "if you're sure you won't get caught." While these proportions are small it must be remembered that stealing is strongly proscribed in American culture. The fact that one in every 20 boys is instrumentally oriented toward stealing--"it's all right to take things that don't belong to you if you're sure you won't get caught" suggests there is a substantial potential for delinquency among adolescent boys. Normatively girls are far more insulated from delinquent activity. Almost all girls hold it is morally wrong.

Academic achievement is one of the major goals toward which adolescents are compelled to strive. Achievement is measured in large part by performance on competitive examinations. The norm governing conduct during examinations is "only honest means" are allowed. Adolescents in our culture however are under great pressure from one another to both control academic competition and to help one another. Cheating thus becomes somewhat institutionalized among them, as our data suggest. Almost one-half of all adolescents will help a friend cheat even though many feel a friend has no right to expect it.

Observers of the American scene contend this is an age of the other-directed person. The norms of contemporary peer society are seen as arising from responsiveness to social situations and the situational pressures from peers. Are adolescents largely directed by what the group wants? This cannot be answered unequivocally from the results of this investigation but, it is known for example that a majority of all white boys believe, "You have to go along with what the group wants or be left out of everything," that 16 per cent of them say they will keep a friend who is "leading them into trouble," and that a substantial minority of boys say they would go along with their group if it chose to do something against the law (although they might not actually participate). To a substantial degree than adolescent boys at least place morality in the hands of the group to which they belong. Peer norms and peer sanctions are more difficult of violation than are adult norms and adult sanctions in their eyes. We suspect that the reason actual behavioral deviation is not higher then, given their responsiveness to peer pressures, is that for a sizeable majority of all boys and girls peer norms are the conforming norms of the parent society.

Sociologists have developed a theoretical approach to the study of conforming and deviating conduct in which they are interested in learning how social structures exert pressures upon some persons in the society to become deviators rather than conformers. A large part of this research is devoted to showing these structural sources of behavioral deviation in withdrawing from school, truancy, and delinquency.

One of the more pervasive social structures in American Society is its system of social stratification. It has been demonstrated that an adolescent's socioeconomic status position influences his attitudes toward social norms, his relations with others and his conduct. But what is shown in this study is that the social context or environment of status in the school and the community affects an adolescent's behavior independent of his family's status in the larger society.

The socioeconomic status background of students gives each school a social status structure. There is considerable variation in the social status structures of these schools. Some schools are made up almost entirely of boys and girls from the top status groups in our society while others are made up almost entirely of those from the families at the bottom of the status structure. Still other schools cut across the status structure though they vary in the degree to which they are representative of the American status system.

A major problem of investigation therefore was to learn what effect socioeconomic status has in producing deviating conduct, both the effect of the social position of an adolescent's family in an American community and society and the effect of the socioeconomic status context of the school which the adolescent attends. Three major forms of deviating conduct among adolescents were investigated: (1) the incidence of dropout from school before graduation; (2) the prevalence of truancy; (3) a rough measure of experience in delinquency known to juvenile officials.

Although the incidence of drop out is slightly greater for girls than boys and for low than middle or high status adolescents, there is substantially greater variation in the incidence of dropout by the socioeconomic status context of the school with the lowest dropout rates in the Upper and Upper Middle status schools and the highest in the predominantly lower status schools. Similarly, although twice as many boys as girls are truant in any school year and about five times as many low as high status boys are truant each year, there is substantially greater variation in the prevalence of truancy by the socioeconomic status context of the school with the lowest truancy rates in the high status school contexts and the highest in the low status school contexts. In the aggregate there is a marked structural concentration of truancy and withdrawl from school, at least as this kind of behavior is recognized by school officials as problem behavior. Seven of every 10 boys and eight of every 10 girls who were truant in a school year came from the two lowest status school environments with only a third of all students. Over half of all dropouts also came from these lower status environments.

The risk of becoming truant and/or withdrawing from school then is not altogether a matter of one's family status in the Great Society but there also is a risk attached to the social composition of the school attended. Parents of high status boys and girls run a greater risk of their children becoming truants or dropouts from school if they send them to a low rather than a high status school environment, while the parents of low status adolescents run less risk of them becoming truants or dropouts if they send them to a high rather than a low status school environment. There appears to be but one exception to this conclusion. Boys from low status families seem to have a reasonably higher probability of becoming truant in either a very low or a very high status school environment than they have in school environments which crosscut the status structure.

There is considerable difficulty in securing information on delinquency in a population for a number of reasons such as what kind of behavior is to be included to define a person as delinquent, how can one secure such information in a valid and reliable way and what limits define a population as juvenile. For status and school climate comparisons in this study however, the juvenile court definitions of a delinquent are used. The rates perhaps are most reliable for white boys and comparisons are largely reported for this subgroup.

The investigation of school and community context variation with socioeconomic status groups shows that there is an inverse relationship between the prestige of the context and the rate of delinquency. Although the rate of delinquency varies by the socioeconomic status of the adolescent, this variation is affected to a substantial degree by the social climate in which the boy lives and goes to school. The risk of being a delinquent is high for low status boys (7.5 per 100 in our population) but the risk actually was zero for low status boys in high prestige schools but twice as great (14.5) for low status boys in the lowest prestige schools. On the other hand while the rate of delinquency is low for high status boys--only three per 100 boys--it is twice as great (6 per 100) for them in the lowest prestige schools and zero in the highest prestige schools. The low prestige schools maximize the rate of delinquency for boys of any socioeconomic status origin while the high prestige schools minimize it for boys of any status origin. The I.Q. of a boy exerts an effect on delinquency independent of his socioeconomic status position and the status climate of the school and the community.

A major conclusion drawn from these research findings is that the findings support the contention that delinquency is communicated as a form of behavior. It is learned by differential association. High status boys and girls who generally have a low probability of delinquency have a much greater probability if they are in an environment where there are many delinquents. On the other hand lower status boys whose life chances favor delinquency run little risk of delinquency in a high status environment. These results at least strongly suggest that any way which organizes either communities or even schools so as to minimize status differences within them might actually reduce the rate of delinquency rather than increase it as some theories have suggested.

From the standpoint of predicting deviating behavior of adolescents whether that of early withdrawl from school, truancy or delinquency, it is clear that the position an adolescent has in the social structure, the social prestige of the school attended and of the community in which the adolescent lives, and the race, sex and I.Q. role are among the most powerful determinants of the risk at least of being adjudged an official delinquent. If specific predictive variables are chosen to predict any of these forms of adolescent deviation, an attempt should be made to link them with variation in the social structure which accounts for differences in risk. For, the life chances of adolescent deviation vary substantially.

At the same time it should be clear that the structural explanation for variation in the rate of any form of adolescent deviation, for example that of delinquency, is not an efficient selection device for selecting either potential or actual delinquents. The investigation at this level rather is directed toward describing and explaining structural variation in the life chances of an adolescent becoming a delinquent or other type of adolescent deviator.

A second major problem of investigation was to learn what effect the socio-economic status of the adolescent's family and school and other factors such as race, sex, age and I.Q. have upon attitudes toward schooling and getting an education. Just how important is getting an education and continuing in school to adolescents in an urban metropolitan area?

A large majority of all boys and girls accept the goal of getting an education and place going to school high in their value preferences. This is true for adolescents at all status levels. Though most boys and girls give a high preference position to going to school, the attitude is to be held with great intensity by most.

High status boys seem subject to considerable cross-pressure to devalue schooling, particularly if they attend a school with a primarily lower status social climate. But lower status boys appear to increase the value they ordinarily would be expected to place on schooling if they attend a middle or high status rather than a predominantly low status school climate.

A substantial minority of adolescents view the compulsory school attendance laws as "too strict." This is much more the case for boys than girls and low status boys and girls than high status ones. Over half of all low status boys agree that the rules about coming to school are too strict. High status boys who attend schools with predominantly low status boys take on the prevailing norm that the rules are too strict about coming to school and low status boys in high status social climates tend to adopt the norm of the high status climate. Nonetheless high status boys are much more likely to be affected by the low status climate than the converse.

An adolescent may feel that the requirements of regular school attendance until one reaches the age of 17 are too strict and even want to quit. This adolescent will face the question however, what are the available alternative opportunities, particularly conforming ones. The opportunities for jobs are limited in a number of ways. Child labor laws restrict the kind of job one can get, the number of hours one can work and, the period of time one can work. Work organizations also erect barriers to entry which many adolescents could not meet even if our laws allowed them to work. There also are educational and training requirements for many jobs which most adolescent cannot meet. Thus a job is in many ways not a very"realistic" alternative conforming goal, at least for boys. But, do adolescents feel it ought to be an alternative? Does a substantial minority or a majority of adolescents feel that they should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time if they want to do it? While it is only a minority of all adolescents who think working full time ought to be an alternative to going to school full time, about twice as many white boys (21 per cent) as girls (10 per cent) and of low (21 per cent) as of high (11 per cent) status boys endorse the work alternative.

How many adolescents actually see themselves as wanting to quit school and go to work despite the fact that only a minority think adolescents should be allowed to quit school and go to work? The relationship is generally the same for boys and girls although it is stated here in summary from only for boys. A boy is most likely to want to quit school and go to work if he is of low socioeconomic status origins and if most other boys in his school and community are of similar origins. While only 10 per cent of all high status boys in the higher prestige schools want to quit school and go to work, about 43 per cent of all low status boys in the lowest prestige schools want to quit school and go to work. The effect of the prestige of the context on the desires of the boys independent of status can be seen from the fact that only half as many boys of low status in the high as in the low prestige schools want to quit school and go to work while almost three times as many of the high status boys in the low as in the high prestige schools want to quit school and go to work. Thus the social climate of the school exerts an important influence on the status goals of boys.

A third major problem of investigation was to learn to what effect the socioeconomic status of the adolescent's family and school climate and other factors such as race, sex, age and I.Q. have upon the educational aspirations and goals of the adolescent and his parents expectations for achievement. Just how much education do adolescents on the average want to get and how much do their parents expect them to get?

Although boys see both themselves and their mothers as holding higher educational attainment expectations for them than do girls, socioeconomic status differences are much larger. For example while 54 per cent of all boys with a definite educational goal see their mothers as wanting them to go to college, 81 per cent of all high status boys but only 40 per cent of all low status ones feel their mothers want them to go to college. But the combined effects of ascribed socioeconomic status position of the adolescent and the status climate of the school attended make for further differentiation in the adolescent population. Illustrating again for white boys, 97 per cent of the white boys of high socioeconomic status in predominantly middle status schools see their mother as wanting them to go to college but only eight per cent of all low socioeconomic status boys in schools of predominantly lower status children see their mothers as wanting them to go to college.

The effect of the social climate of the school on both mother's expectation and boys aspirations for an education are very pronounced though the effects of the social climate are greater for low than high status boys. To illustrate again with mother's expectations of educational attainment for white boys, only eight per cent of low status boys in predominantly low status schools see their mothers as wanting them to go to college but 92 per cent of all low status boys in predominantly middle status schools believe their mother wants them to go to college! The complex effects of climate here produce a percentage difference of 84. The fact that the effects of climate are less on high status adolescents can be illustrated by pointing out that although 97 per cent of all high status boys in the predominantly middle status school see their mothers as wanting them to go to college, 31 per cent of the high status boys in the predominantly lower status school see their mother as wanting them to go to college, a difference of 66 per cent.

It is of interest that the proportion of boys and girls in the schools at the top and the bottom who see their mother as wanting them to go to college is substantially the same. But, there are substantially larger sex differences for middle status adolescents in high prestige status schools and for high status adolescents in low prestige status schools. Parents in these two types of social position and community environment seem more likely to want, or be able to, sacrifice for their sons rather than their daughter's education. The reason perhaps that middle status parents in high prestige schools on the average favor sons over daughters education is that while parents in middle status positions place a high value on getting an education, they often cannot afford it for all their children. Under these circumstances the boy but not the girl can expect to go to college for these parents perceive the boy needs the college education. This problem does not exist for high status parents since they can afford it for all their children and it does not exist for low status parents because of their relative inability to afford it for either their sons or their daughters. It must not be forgotten however that the social climate of the school and/or the community can exert a profound influence on these parental expectations.

The educational aspirations of adolescents also were assessed in terms of their willingness to continue or desire to quit school. Boys are about twice as likely as girls to want to quit school "right now" and low status adolescents are more likely to express such a desire than high status ones. Again however the status environment of the school has an effect on the adolescent's desire to quit school. The low prestige school context is more likely to decrease the desire of high status boys to remain in school than is the high prestige context to raise the desire of low status boys to remain in school.

There now are two interesting and contrasting effects of social climate on high and low prestige boys. The high prestige school climate raises the educational expectations and aspirations for the lower status boy more than the low prestige climate reduces these for the high status boy. But the high prestige climate can affect the low status boys desire to quit school less than the low prestige climate affects it for high prestige boys.

The effect of the social climate of schools which are differentiated on the basis of their socioeconomic status composition is indeed substantial. It has been shown in fact that the social status climate of the school can substantially change the behavior of adolescents from that which would be expected from their status origins. Put another way, the social status structure of a school profoundly changes the life chances of an adolescent which are based on the social status position of the family. This seems to be an extremely important finding for it suggests that the effects of status composition of the environment in which the family lives and the child goes to school.

The importance of this finding prehaps can be indicated by asserting that it may be easier to ameliorate the effects of status through changing the status environment than it is to ameliorate or change these effects by operating directly on the status system or status members. This point requires some explication. In large American cities there is considerable residential segregation of status groups. The Duncans have shown for example that the spatial distances between occupation groups are closely related to their social distances. The occupation groups at the extremes of the socioeconomic scale are the most segregated residentially while those in the middle range show least residential segregation. It also is true that most public and parochial schools (and to a substantial degree private ones as well) serve only the residential population within a restricted territorial area. For the public schools, this area usually is designated either a school district or in large cities, the territory from which students may attend without requesting a pupil transfer. For the parochial schools it is either a parish or the area from which the church draws its congregation. As a consequence of this policy to restrict school attendance to residents within a geographic area, American schools reflect the status pattern of segregation for these areas. For this reason, some schools are located in areas with high status segregation while other schools tend to crosscut the status structure. In laymen's terms, the slum school is most likely to be a homogeneous lower class school while the upper class suburban area has a relatively homogeneous population from "the best families." Some areas seem to be a cross-section of the community, but the larger the city, the less likely one is to find such areas and school districts or zones of attendance. The pattern of residence is relatively firmly set but in this age of rapid transportation, the pattern of attendance at a school located in a particular residential area need not be as firmly set. It can in fact be altered by policy.

Generalizing from the findings of this study, it seems reasonable to conclude that on the average the school which crosscuts the status structure and avoids concentration at the lower status levels comes closest to optimizing the kind of conforming conduct one wants from adolescents both in the school and in the community. It may be that when other values of adolescents are examined, most values come closer to being optimized if all combinations of of status extremes are avoided. The microcosm of this kind of school occurs in the American small town, but this recommendation is not to be thought of as laden with the value position of the small town school.

To be sure, the life chances of an upper status person for deviating behavior are somewhat increased as the school becomes less homogeneous in its status composition as a high prestige school. But this seems more than offset by the decrease in life chances for deviating behavior for the lower status child. Similarly, the evidence in this study suggests that teachers come closer to upholding standards of achievement in performance in the more heterogeneous school.

The recommendation that status extremes should be avoided in making up the attendance population of a school should be seriously considered by all school officials. Further research is necessary however to increase the level of certainty for the findings on which this recommendation is based. More must be known about what kind of status environments tend to optimize what kind of values since it is almost a truism that one cannot optimize all of them in a single environment. One can only attempt to either achieve some relative equilibrium among them or choose to avoid what public values hold to be the more serious consequences of such choices.

A number of studies show that intelligence and grade performance are status linked. Some writers point out the need for comparisons of grades with ability when socioeconomic status is controlled. Also, there is a problem with respect to separating out the effects of low intelligence from low status. That is, do lower status boys and girls make poorer grades because low status produces low intelligence, or does low status add something to the variance above and beyond that which is contributed by low intelligence? The question is further complicated by consideration of how well the teacher thinks the student is doing (her performance grade) versus how well the student does on some standardized measure of achievement.

The data in this study seem to warrant the conclusion that there is greater variation in English grades by intelligence within levels of socioeconomic status than there is variation by status within levels of intelligence. This seems to be more or less true at all levels of reading skill. This suggests that teachers in secondary schools give grades in accordance with I.Q. rather than with socioeconomic status level.

This could however be due to ecological as well as racial segregation. In the Nashville urban setting, about one fourth of the students attend schools which are homogeneous with respect to status origins and another third attend schools in which the majority of students have "blue-collar" status origins.

Variation of grade performance by status becomes most apparent for certain types of students with certain kinds of school contexts. Assuming that peer pressures operate toward behavior conforming with achievement norms (as well as toward behavior against the norms), we expected to find that the few lower status or working status children in the largely homogeneous upper middle status schools would make better grades (given their intelligence and reading skill) than lower status children in lower status schools. Conversely, we expected upper middle status children to do less well in homogeneous lower-status schools than their counter-parts (in status, intelligence, and skill) in homogeneous upper-middle class schools. These expectations are confirmed by examination of data in this study for all but low status boys in high status schools. This small number of boys did less well than their lower status counterparts. These findings suggest that peer influence is of some importance for how well the student of average intelligence (90-109) does in academic performance.

The findings are somewhat different for bright and dull students. Bright students (I.Q. 110 and over) regardless of status origin receive even better grades than one might expect in schools which are homogeneous with respect to status origins of students. Status level comes into play for dull male students (I.Q. below 90). High status dull males are overgraded--given their reading skill while low status dull males are undergraded--i.e., high status dull males receive more A's and B's and fewer D's and F's than dull males in general while the converse is true for low-status dull males. Since reading skill is about the same for high and low status dull males, the implication is that teachers are under pressure (presumably form overly-ambitious high-status parents) to overgrade dull boys of high status origin.

When one examines how subjects are graded within the various school contexts, one finds that grading is most severe (given reading skill) in the crosscut-top schools--that is, in schools which have an over representation of students from families with business and professional occupations but which also have a substantial proportion of "working-class" students. It is the latter group which finds the grading toughest in this kind of school. Lower class boys and girls receive better grades than their reading skill would warrant (given the grade-skill relationship for the general population) in schools which are largely homogeneous with respect to either upper or lower status!

In summation, urban lower-status children are not judged "against all comers" except within certain types of schools which crosscut the class structure. Our data suggest that if the working status boys feels deprived, he can not blame the teachers for unfair treatment since he generally gets better grades than he deserves--given his reading skill. This is particularly true in the homogeneous lower status schools. Yet it is in these same lower status schools that we find the highest rates of hidden and of court reported delinquency and the nearest thing to the delinquent subculture. If subcultural delinquency is generated or maintained by frustrations resulting from disadvantaged position in the success competition--most of the teachers in our study cannot be accused of contributing to these feelings of relative deprivation in so far as they allocate grades.

Our results indicate that teachers in school contexts with heterogeneous status origins of students tend to reward motivation as well as actual ability, while in the homogeneous status context schools, students tend to be overgraded regardless of motivation! Some interpretation of this is included in the body of the report. In general, one is forced to condlude that the relationship between grades, socioeconomic status, and motivation is more complicated than much of the work heretofore has indicated.

Intelligence is an important factor in grading, but when the effect of intelligence is controlled, subjects status and school context interact so that under certain conditions there is no relationship between the skill one has accumulated and the English grade one receives! Now then, if the purpose of scholarship programs is to provide aid to the most capable students who are financially unable to go to college, then the results presented in this study suggest that a standardized tests of intelligence and of capability or achievement should be used to select these students rather than awarding scholarships on the basis of a record of high grades. This is so because it has been shown that subjects with better than average reading skill, who compete for grades where the competition is tough, receive fewer A's and B's than subjects who have average reading skill (or in some instances, below average reading skill) in contexts where teachers tend to overgrade students. If grading is to be continued (rather than periodic performance testing) perhaps teachers in secondary schools ought to give two grades for each subject. One grade might indicate the level of skill and the other might indicate how hard the subject is trying. Until either performance test scores are a more standardized mode of evaluation or grading reflects academic achievement better than it now appears to do, employers, university registrars, and the teachers who receive each cohort of students at the next higher level of education will continue to puzzle over what letter or number grades "really mean!"

Do boys and girls whose behavior can be considered to go counter to what is expected of them in going to school, that is truants, dropouts and delinquents, respond to going to school and getting an education as do the conventionally conforming adolescents?

Although a considerably larger minority of all truants and dropouts than of conformers devalue schooling, at least half of all truants and dropouts place as high a valuation on schooling as do conformers. There does not appear to be strong support for the viewpoint that adolescents who openly rebel against school norms by truant behavior do not personally see schooling as of some positive value significance to them. Nevertheless, both truants and dropouts, particularly among boys, are more likely to view the rules about coming to school as "too strict" than are conformers. The relationship is larger for the truant than the dropout comparison. The rate of truancy and withdrawl from school is less however than that which one would expect from the very large proportion of adolescents who see the school attendance norms as unduly restrictive. Put another way, it is not too surprising that a large number of boys, and to a lesser degree of girls, truant at some time since a substantial proportion of all adolescents see the legal requirements of school attendance as unduly coercive or, as too restrictive.

Truants and delinquents also are quite similar to conformers in the amount of education they prescribe for most people in our society when the race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status differences between truants or delinquents and conformers are taken into account, But, truant adolescents are less likely to see their mothers as holding a specific educational goal for them and they are less likely to have such goals for themselves than are conforming ones, regardless of their race, sex, I.Q. and socioeconomic status.

Boys and girls who withdraw from school regardless of their social status perceive their mothers as holding lower educational attainment expectations for them and they themselves have lower expectations than do conformers. To realize that this is not a spurious conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the information on educational expectations and aspirations was obtained from five months to a year before a student actually withdrew from school.

Among boys who were both truant and dropouts during the school year, 50 per cent had previously said, "I want to quit school right now." Similarly 50 per cent of all boys who were truant but did not withdraw (usually because they were below the legal age to withdraw) and 42 per cent of all who withdraw even though not truants also showed a strong desire to quit school--"right now." High status truants and dropouts in high prestige schools do not seem more desirous of quitting school than those who remain but low status truants and dropouts in low prestige schools clearly to want to quit school more than those who remain or who do not truant. Although the lowest prestige school in our social structure is the place most likely to produce dropouts--6 per cent of the boys per year--and though it also is the place where boys and girls are most likely to want to quit school right now--30 per cent of all boys--still two-thirds of all the dropouts in the low prestige schools "want to quit school right now" will before they actually withdraw. Many of these boys of course are just "marking time" until they reach the legal age to quit. The some 30 per cent of adolescent bpys who want to quit school right now seems to be largely made up of boys who will leave school when they reach the legal age to withdraw.

Truants and delinquents have lower occupational aspirations than do conventionally conforming adolescents. The truant-conformer differences are larger than the delinquent-conformer ones however. Manual occupations which are generally downgraded by boys at all status-I.Q. levels (except low status-low I.Q.) appear more acceptable as an occupational destination to truants and delinquents. Perhaps this is a function of a generally weaker aspiration for success through conventional mobility channels which seems to characterize these adolescent deviators.

Truancy arises solely as a consequence of the compulsory school attendance laws. A repeal of the law therefore would eliminate one group of adolescent deviators. There is a problem however whether an alternative conforming goal is available to them. One such goal as already noted is the work goal--a full time job. Do truants feel that adolescents should be allowed to quit school and go to work full time? A substantial proportion--about four in ten adolescent boys who are truants regardless of their family's social status--believe that work should be a conforming alternative to going to school. The same proportion of adolescent boys who withdraw from school agree that work should be an alternative goal, at least among middle and low status boys. Still a majority of all adolescents, including truants, do not think going to work should be an alternative goal to that of going to school, although older boys are more likely to think so than are younger ones.

Despite the fact that a majority of truants do not endorse quitting school and going to work full time as a permissive norm, how many actually want to quit school and get a job. More than twice as many of the truant boys (58 per cent) as of nontruants (24 per cent) want to quit school and go to work. This relationship persists within socioeconomic status subgroups in each status environment of schools. Although the relationship is smaller for dropout than truant comparisons, it holds for them as well.

The fact that over one-half of all truants propose an alternate conforming goal to that of going to school should not be dismissed by simply saying, "everyone ought to get a high school education." This is particularly apparent if one bears in mind that the truant form of deviation derives solely from the norm of compulsory school attendance. Whether or not all of these truants would take a job if given the opportunity is not known. It is known however that a great many former truants become conformers when they reach the legal age to quit school, promptly quit school and go to work. Serious consideration should be given to allowing at least certain types of truants to quit school and go to work rather than forcing them to continue in school. One such group is the lower status boy with a low I.Q. and a poor record of performance in school since we know a majority of them want to quit school and go to work. Work roles for truants who clearly lack the motivation to continue in school, who show no other major nonconforming pattern of behavior such as delinquency and who indicate they want to go to work should perhaps provided in our society. All of the 16 year old boys in this study who were truant wanted to quit school and go to work--this is the age just prior to their legal right to quit.

Is delinquency primarily a lower status phenomenon or are various indicators of the extent of delinquency, such as juvenile court statistics, so biased in the favor of the middle socioeconomic status that they mask the fact that there is little or no class difference in the extent of delinquency? The limited information concerning the prevalence of hidden delinquency available from this investigation suggests that lower status or "working-class" boys probably commit more delinquent acts and a greater variety of delinquent acts than do middle status boys. It also was concluded that, over and above this basic status difference in prevalence, lower and working class boys are more likely to be arrested or picked up on "dragnet" operations, that they are more likely to be held for court hearing. It is also apparent that given acts of equal seriousness, lower status boys are more likely to be given an official rather than an unofficial court record. Thus, it appears that there is a basic status difference in the prevalence of hidden delinquency which, in turn, is magnified by police and court procedures. Middle class boys picked up for traffic offenses in fact have a higher rate of more serious, self-reported hidden delinquency than middle class boys in general. Thus, there is greater discrepancy between the kind of hidden delinquency and the kind of court-recorded delinquency for high status boys than for low status boys. This leads to the question about social status differences in the quality of delinquent acts.

Albert K. Cohen indicates that there should be a social status difference in the kind or quality of deviant acts. He states that it lies within the subculture of working-class delinquent gangs to commit delinquent acts which are malicious, negativistic, non-utilitarian and oriented toward short run hedonism. The investigation reported here attempts to examine differences in the kind and quality of deviant acts as they occur within various subtypes of the white male adolescent population since it was found that the quality of delinquency varies with socioeconomic status and other factors. Data were obtained by interview for more than one thousand white males between the ages of ten and sixteen. Using these data, boys were classified into types of conforming and deviating adolescents. Each type was characterized by a cluster or syndrome of characteristics. There are seven basic types but subdivision of three types by low versus middle status provides ten types in all. These ten types do not exhaust the possibilities which a cross-classification of criteria affords, but they subsume all cases which were isolated in the population under investigation. The ten types and their kind of delinquent activity are:

(1) Career oriented delinquent--extensive past history of more serious delinquency--crime is a business and an anticipated life-time occupation. (There is no middle status equivalent of this group.)

(2) Lower status peer-oriented delinquent--while this type has an extensive history of delinquency, this type is separated from the first by lack of planned delinquent activity and long range goals. No achievement orientation.

(3) Lower status conforming non-achiever--this type is poorly motivated but does not cause trouble in school. He may report a number of minor delinquencies and occasionally a more serious act, but he is generally conforming in a passive way.

(4) Lower status conforming achiever--this type is oriented toward competition for middle class success goals--he is conforming both in and out of school and reports only a few minor delinquencies--nothing serious.

(5) Middle status peer oriented delinquent--he is the middle class equivalent of type 2. Not oriented to long-run goals of success striving. Causes trouble in and out of school. Long history of minor delinquency and some serious acts. Like type 2, delinquency is largely unplanned and situational.

(6) Middle status conforming non-achiever--the middle class equivalent of type 3--he does not cause much trouble in or out of school but he is not a striver. Some minor acts of delinquency reported--no serious acts.

(7) Middle status conforming achiever--this type is a status striver--the most numerous of the middle class types--he is conforming in and out of school but reports a conventional history of minor pecadilloes at Halloween, etc.

(8) Hyperconformers--this group is oriented to high achievement in school and "perfect" behavior. No delinquency reported--tells of acts such as "kept a pencil that didn't belong to him when he was in third grade." This type is found at all levels of socioeconomic status but there are too few cases to make a status distinction in the analysis for this study.

(9) Nonconforming isolate--no status distinction because of too few cases--this type is the "lone wolf" delinquent who may have done a considerable number of minor delinquencies and some serious acts. This type is unlikely to be apprehended. Has no close friends or else his "friends" do not reciprocate sociometric choice. Not a status striver.

(10) Conforming isolate--this type is a status striver--like type 9, he is rejected by peers. Like the hyperconformer, this type has no hidden delinquency to report. Occurs at all status levels but no status distinction made because there were too few interview cases to permit status distinction in analysis.

Career oriented delinquents give up the petty offenses that Cohen describes as negativistic, destructive, and nonutilitarian by the time that they are thirteen or fourteen years old. Status within the gang after age 13 or 14 is diminished rather than enhanced by this "kid stuff." The boy has a "rep" to maintain. Experience in all types of delinquency in this group is so extensive that career oriented delinquents have only the vaguest notion of the total offenses they have committed. Initial or unaided recall is limited to those occasions which result in commitment to the training school, or have had some very exciting aspect such as incidents in which they outwitted the police in a chase or made a big "haul," or established a "rep." Both the lower status and middle status peer-oriented delinquent is more likely to commit the kind of act which Cohen ascribes to the delinquent subculture--i.e., unplanned, spontaneous, malicious, destructive activity. The weight of evidence in this study is that it is the middle status peer delinquent who is likely to engage in that kind of malicious, nonutilitarian, destructive activity which is referred to as the aggressive "acting-out" kind of delinquency. The delinquency of the lower status peer oriented delinquent is likely to be more utilitarian (in the sense of satisfying material want) than is that of the middle status peer oriented delinquent but less utilitarian than that of the career oriented delinquent.

Looking at the status difference in the delinquency of conforming nonachievers, one finds that this is the largest group of lower status boys and that they report a past history of minor delinquency which is more extensive than that of middle status boys. Lower status conforming nonachievers are more likely to have a record of truancy and to be proportionally more numerous than are middle status conforming nonachievers. Lower status and middle status conforming achievers are alike with respect to quality and extent of self reported hidden delinquency. Conforming achiever is the largest category of behavior for middle status boys. Nonconforming isolates are similar to career oriented and peer oriented delinquents regarding patterns of petty thievery and malicious destruction but they are less likely to engage in the more serious acts such as grand larceny and auto theft.

Petty thievery (of things worth less than $2) is most likely to have been done at least once by all ten types of boys. Only career oriented and peer oriented delinquents and nonconforming delinquents are likely to admit violation of personal and property norms more than a dozen times.

One is forced to conclude that delinquent behavior cannot be scaled in terms of seriousness of offense. Boys who commit the most serious acts on the scale do not necessarily commit all acts which are less serious.

The results of this study support previous findings that delinquent activity is group activity. Over half of all the self-reported delinquent acts were committed with two or more associates. Some offenses were more likely to be group offenses than others (auto larceny and malicious destruction are most likely to be group offenses).

(an impression gained

One gains the impression from this investigation is that considerable differentiation exists within the population in respect to conformity and deviation in respect to social norms. Neither the conformers to, nor the deviators from, any norm or set of social norms should be seen as a homogeneous entity for purposes of causal analysis. The types of conformers and deviators identified in this study in respect to norms of persons and property might serve as a basis for further investigation.[22]

The investigation of delinquency as a form of behavior clearly supports the views that delinquency is more of a lower than a middle status phenomenon, that the agents of law enforcement and justice serve to exaggerate the status differential in delinquency in such a way as to increase the incidence of hidden delinquency more for middle than lower status adolescents, that delinquency is primarily a group phenomenon, and that any attempt to scale delinquents on the basis of the types of acts which they have committed or of their seriousness is basically misleading. Among other things a scale of delinquency or delinquent acts leads to false differentiation among members within the same delinquent gang and tends to exaggerate the extent of delinquency in a population of adolescents. Delinquency is perhaps more meaningfully viewed in terms of the patterned activities of adolescents rather than as an isolated act or an additive set of acts attached to persons.

A major form of deviating behavior in American Society is that of sex delinquency though male adolescents seldom are arrested as deviators from sexual mores. School officials in a large number of cities however have increasingly expressed a concern with the "growth" of one form of deviating sex behavior--

the relationship between an adult male homosexual fellator and an adolescent boy. They view this relationship as an "exploitation" of the boys by the adult male homosexual.

Investigation of the relationship for boys in the population under study shows that it is primarily a form of prostitution practiced by lower status boys who also are known as delinquents. A shared cultural and organizational system of prostitution arises and persists among these adolescents and adult male fellators through group induction and cultural transmission. The delineation of this subculture and its peer organization suggest that it cannot be viewed as a form of adult male homosexual exploitation but rather as a financial transaction between delinquent boys and fellators which minimizes risk taking for the delinquent. The behavior is one of a series of culturally entrenched ones in a delinquent subcultural organization.

Conformers to social norms are expected to show greater acceptance of the prescribed norms of society and also to have internalized them within the personality. The conscience on the one hand represents the interiorization of these major norms so that violation of them affects the mechanism of guilt. Are there differences among types of delinquent deviators and conforming adolescents in their orientation toward moral norms which when violated induce feelings of moral wrong or guilt? There appear to be a number of important differences among conforming and deviating adolescents in these respects.

Delinquent boys who follow delinquency as a career seem to be least affected by the demands of a strict conscience among the conforming and deviating types investigated. Thirty-seven per cent of them said they did not worry at all about what they reported they did wrong and 48 per cent of them worried only about consequences to themselves. Their worries in fact were largely limited to what might happen to them if it was known they had done wrong. The career oriented delinquent therefore is unwilling to accept either the moral consequences of his actions or the social sanctions which attach to them. Though these career-oriented delinquent boys can cognize the difference between right and wrong, they do not accept moral responsibility for violating the major norms of society and they seek to escape its sanctioning system. Their orientation toward the major moral norms therefore is primarily instrumental in nature. In dealing with these delinquent boys therefore one must find ways to cope with this instrumental orientation--either by developing a sense of moral responsibility when violating the major norms of society or by social control techniques which are effective in controlling instrumentally oriented persons. It is difficult to do either or both with these boys given our present ways of organizing treatment for them, however.

The boy who engages in delinquency largely under pressure from his peers is inclined to worry about his delinquent act. A relatively large proportion of them also are concerned only about self consequences however--that is in evading the social sanctions for the wrong they have done. These boys on the average, however, are more likely to show moral concern for their actions than are career oriented delinquents. Yet one must cope with the fact in their treatment as well, that their orientation is often an instrumental one.

Hyperconforming boys are least likely to worry about consequences to the self and most likely to concern themselves with their moral responsibility to rectify the wrong they have committed. They are concerned with restitution. The conscience of hyperconformers then appears not only to function primarily or solely to deter them from doing wrong--which it does to an amazing degree--but it also functions to concern them with their social responsibility as a moral human being when wrong has been committed.

Conventional conforming adolescents often also show a concern with self consequences when they do wrong, particularly if they are not achievement oriented. The fact that a majority of all adolescents show evidence of an instrumental orientation toward their wrong doing seems a significant finding.

One is impressed with the fact that a substantial proportion of all boys in American Society are highly instrumental about their responsibility when they do wrong. They are not primarily concerned with what wrong they have done (the morality of their action) nor with their responsibility to others (a concern for the rights of others) nor with how they might right their wrong (a responsibility for restitution). They either do not worry much about what they have done wrong or they are concerned with evading detection and the social sanctions which follow from detection. Why should this be the case?

The answer perhaps lies within American culture and its social organization. American culture emphasizes punishment for wrong doing, one must pay for what one has done by being punished. But the punishment usually meted out does not emphasize the moral responsibility. Rather, it stresses the superiority of the punitive agent so that the child comes to fear the punitive agent and to resent the punishment as "unjust." The main way out of this dilemma is to avoid detection and the consequences of punishment. This instrumental orientation is further developed as a consequence of the fact that the moral agent (the punisher) usually is interested primarily in admission of wrong rather than in restoring the social equilibrium in which a wrong has occurred.

The basic principles of decision and treatment followed by juvenile courts also emphasize retribution--the consequences which will follow if one is caught again. Hence it leads the delinquent into further deception and prescribes the norm of avoidance of social detection. One must fear the consequences because they are punitive and lead to social exclusion rather than directly to social reintegration. The juvenile court today is conventionally concerned with one of two goals for deviators--either it has an atomistic conception of rehabilitating the "personality" of the boy with little or no attention given to developing his sense of moral responsibility for his action or, it operates with a punitive conception of social retribution with little or no attention given to the problem of reintegration of the boy as a moral member of society. From the standpoint of moral responsibility in a social sense however, court officials pay very little attention either to restitution or to the problem of their social reintegration. Under these circumstances adolescents on the average show less willingness to accept social and moral responsibility for their action than one might expect. This is only exaggerated among lower status career oriented delinquents who after all are most likely to be punished and rejected and least likely to be reintegrated or made to accept a sense of moral responsibility for their own actions.

A SURVEY OF STUDENT OPINION

This is a study to learn what young people think about some everyday activities in their home, school and community life. The following pages have a number of statements about which all young people don't feel the same. Both boys and girls differ a great deal in the way they feel about each statement. There is no such thing as a right or wrong answer. How you answer is very important, however; so be sure to give careful and truthful answers. Remember that you are NOT to sign your name.

There are a few simple rules for you to follow:

1. **Give the best answer you can to all the questions. Don't leave out any answers.**
2. **Answer the way you really feel rather than the way you think someone would want you to answer.**
3. **Most of the questions ask you to draw circles around the answer or to place a check by the answer. This will be easy for you to do. Just be sure to read and follow the directions carefully.**
4. **This is a questionnaire, not a test. Any answer is the right answer if it is the true answer for you.**

You are now going to read a list of statements. Read each of these carefully and then say whether you agree or disagree with the statement. You may have strong agreement with some of these statements and only slight interest in others. You should PLACE A CIRCLE around SA if you strongly agree with a statement, around A if you agree pretty much with it, and around AL if you agree only a little with it. Or, PLACE A CIRCLE around DL if you disagree only a little with it, around D if you pretty much disagree with it and around SD if you strongly disagree with it. REMEMBER WHAT THESE LETTERS MEAN:

SA = Strongly agree
A = Agree
AL = Agree a little

DL = Disagree a little
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly disagree

Let us do one example together so that you can be sure how this works. If the statement you read were as follows:

I am a person who gets along easily with other people. **[✓ SA] A AL [✓ DL] [✓ D] SD**

If you strongly agree with this, you would circle SA

If, on the other hand, you disagreed a little, you would circle DL

Or, if you disagreed with it some, you would place a circle around D

Now go on with the statements which follow on the next page.

1. A hobby is the best way to spend your spare time. SA A AL DL D SD

2. A person is better off if he doesn't trust anybody very much. SA A AL DL D SD

3. I sometimes feel that my parents expect too much of me. SA A AL DL D SD

4. Anyone can be successful if given a fair chance. SA A AL DL D SD

5. Every young person ought to feel he owns part of the school he goes to. SA A AL DL D SD

6. Most policemen will steal things on their job if they get a chance. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

7. People should be prevented from drinking liquor even if they want to do it. SA A AL DL D SD

8. I don't like to go to school. SA A AL DL D SD

9. It's all right to make money in a gambling business. SA A AL DL D SD

10. Some people are so bossy that I want to do the exact opposite of what they say. SA A AL DL D SD

11. When you do not have time to keep up your lessons and your friendships, it is better to neglect your lessons than your friends. SA A AL DL D SD

12. If you ever want to get ahead of others in the struggle for success, you've got to break a few rules. SA A AL DL D SD

13. It's all right to gang up and hurt somebody if he lays himself open to it. SA A AL DL D SD

14. The preacher I know best has a right to tell me whether I should smoke or not. SA A AL DL D SD

15. You have to go along with what your group wants or be left out of everything. SA A AL DL D SD

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

16. Most of the time I don't want to go to school. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

17. A person is a coward who doesn't take chances with the law when his friends dare him. SA A AL DL D SD

18. In the struggle for success, it's not what you know but who you know that counts. SA A AL DL D SD

19. If a child is unusual in any way, his parents should get him to be more like other children. SA A AL DL D SD

20. It's all right to make money in some racket. SA A AL DL D SD

21. A teacher must be strict with her students if she wants to gain their respect. SA A AL DL D SD

22. It's all right to take things that don't belong to you if you are poor and hungry. SA A AL DL D SD

23. I am willing to give up a lot of things I really want to do to get ahead in life. SA A AL DL D SD

24. Schooling is less important to me than most things. SA A AL DL D SD

25. It's all right to drink liquor. SA A AL DL D SD

26. Religion helps me more than anything else when I get into trouble or feel bad. SA A AL DL D SD

27. When your parents tell you to do something that you don't want to do, it's all right to put off doing it until you have to do it. SA A AL DL D SD

28. I seem to get more than my share of bad breaks. SA A AL DL D SD

29. Most policemen will sometimes break many of the laws they should enforce. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

30. There are times when I want to quit school. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

31. It is harder for a rich man to get to heaven than a poor one. SA A AL DL D SD

32. It is all right to take things that don't belong to you when everybody is doing it. SA A AL DL D SD

33. You have a right to get even when others hurt you. SA A AL DL D SD

34. The rules are too strict about coming to school. SA A AL DL D SD

35. If you are falling behind others in the struggle for success, it is all right to break a few rules to keep up. SA A AL DL D SD

36. People are rewarded after they die for the good things they do in this life. SA A AL DL D SD

37. When your teachers tell you to do something that you don't want to do, it's all right to put off doing it until you have to do it. SA A AL DL D SD

38. Parents should keep kids at home after supper on school nights. SA A AL DL D SD

39. I'd like to quit school and go to work. SA A AL DL D SD

40. Most policemen will let you buy your way off if you pay their price. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

41. I think students ought to stand up to school principals and teachers more than they do. SA A AL DL D SD

42. Religion is one of the most important things to me in my daily life. SA A AL DL D SD

43. My parents have a right to tell me whether I should smoke or not. SA A AL DL D SD

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

44. It is wrong to make money by gambling. **SA A AL DL D SD**

45. I want to quit school right now. **SA A AL DL D SD**

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?
____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?
____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

46. People should be allowed to drink liquor if they want to do it. **SA A AL DL D SD**

47. It is all right to take little things that don't belong to you for souvenirs or reminders. **SA A AL DL D SD**

48. Young people should make every minute of their spare time count if they expect to get a good job when they finish school. **SA A AL DL D SD**

49. Parents should let kids run around together after supper on school nights. **SA A AL DL D SD**

50. I get very tense and anxious when I think other people are disapproving of me. **SA A AL DL D SD**

51. Schooling is the most important thing in life for me. **SA A AL DL D SD**

52. A child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them. **SA A AL DL D SD**

53. In the struggle for success, it's not what you know but who you know that counts. **SA A AL DL D SD**

54. People are punished after they die for the bad things they do in this life. **SA A AL DL D SD**

55. It is all right to take things that don't belong to you if they are only little things. **SA A AL DL D SD**

56. It's wrong to drink liquor. **SA A AL DL D SD**

57. There are many times when I don't want to go to school. **SA A AL DL D SD**

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?
____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?
____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

58. Policemen are always honest. SA A AL DL D SD

How hard was it for you to make up your mind on this question?

____very hard
____fairly hard
____not hard

How sure are you of this answer?

____very sure
____fairly sure
____not sure

59. Boys and girls should keep on going to school even if they make poor grades. SA A AL DL D SD

60. It's all right to make money by charging more than something is worth if people are willing to pay it. SA A AL DL D SD

61. If you want to become successful, you have to depend upon luck more than hard work. SA A AL DL D SD

62. When I've done something wrong, I feel better after I've been punished for it. SA A AL DL D SD

63. A person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. SA A AL DL D SD

Here are some questions which ask you to rate yourself or other persons. Please place a check in front of the choice or statement which comes closest to describing how you feel:

1. If you received a bad report card, would you:

____Feel you had let your parents down
____Feel bad, but that it was not your fault
____Not care much
____Feel you had let yourself down

2. Do you have a hobby? ____Yes; ____No. If yes, what is it?____________

Do you spend some time on your hobby?

____Almost every day
____A few times each week
____About once a week
____Only once in awhile

3. Would you say that most of the students in your school have better clothes and a better house to live in than you have? (check one)

____A lot better clothes and house
____A little better clothes and house
____About the same clothes and house
____Poorer clothes and house
____I never thought about this before

4. Do you have a favorite corner or spot where you and your friends hang around most of the time? ____Yes; ____No

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

5. How was your FATHER most likely to punish you when you were a child? By

____Spanking me or hitting me
____Threatening to spank or hit me, but never really doing it
____Taking away privileges I had
____Refusing to let me do things that I wanted to do
____Trying to make me feel ashamed of myself
____Acting as if I had hurt his feelings or made him feel bad

6. How was your MOTHER most likely to punish you when you were a child? By

____Spanking me or hitting me
____Threatening to spank or hit me, but never really doing it
____Taking away privileges I had
____Refusing to let me do things that I wanted to do
____Trying to make me feel ashamed of myself
____Acting as if I had hurt her feelings or made her feel bad

7. By which parent do you PREFER to be punished?

____Father
____Mother
____Other____________________

8. In your spare time, do you find that you are bored because there is nothing that is exciting or fun to do?

____Most of the time
____Often
____Sometimes
____Seldom
____Never

9. Which member of your family shows you the most affection?

____Mother
____Father
____A Brother
____A Sister
____Other (Who?)________________

10. Is it easier to get permission to do the things you want to do from your father or your mother?

____Father
____Mother
____Both about the same
____I only have a father
____I only have a mother
____I don't live with my parents

11. Even though you know you're right, how often do you give in to avoid trouble?

____Always
____Most of the time
____About half the time
____Not often
____Never

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

12. How often do you feel that your father doesn't much care what you do?

____Most of the time
____A good deal of the time
____Sometimes
____Seldom
____Never
____My father is not with us

13. How about your mother, how often do you feel she doesn't much care what you do?

____Most of the time
____A good deal of the time
____Sometimes
____Seldom
____Never
____My mother is not with us

14. Does anyone in your family act hurt when you do something wrong?

____Mother
____Father
____Mother and Father (circle one who is most hurt)
____Other____

15. If you found that a friend was leading you into serious trouble, would you continue to go around with him?

____Yes, I'd keep him as a friend.
____No, I'd quit right away.

16. The BEST way to get ahead in life is to: (CHECK ONLY ONE)

____Work hard
____Have a pleasant personality and be likeable
____Know the right people
____Save your money
____Get a college education
____Be a person with a special talent such as a good athlete, actor, or singer

17. Do you think that your parents (or the people who brought you up) are stricter than other parents or not as strict as other parents?

____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]

[illegible]

____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

19. Do you usually find it hard to go to sleep at night?

____Yes; ____No

20. Who, in your family, is most likely to punish you if you've done wrong?

____Mother
____Father
____Other

21. You have a friend who sits near you during a test. You know an answer he wants to know. How would you feel?

____That he has no right to expect me to help him.
____That he has a right to expect me to help him.

What would you do?

____I would help him.
____I would not help him.

22. Suppose you are with your friends and you find an old building that nobody is using, what would you be most likely to do? (CHECK ONE)

____Go inside and have fun exploring it
____Take it over as a place for us to get together
____Have fun throwing rocks through the windows and helping to wreck it
____Ask somebody if we could use it
____Stay away from it

23. Do you think that your parents punished you too much?

____Yes, much too often
____More than enough
____About the right amount
____Not enough

24. You and a friend plan to go to a movie. Suppose you found that you don't have enough money to go but that your friend had enough for both of you. What would you expect?

____That he would lend me the money, and I'd pay him back later
____That he should take me since I'd do the same for him
____[illegible]

[illegible]

____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

26. Do you think that your parents are more interested in what you do than most parents you know?

____More interested than most parents
____About as interested as most parents
____Less interested than most parents

27. If you were with your friends and they wanted to do something that you knew was against the law, what would you do?

____Get somebody who was older to try and stop them
____Try to talk them out of it
____Say nothing and leave
____Go along but not do anything yourself
____Do it and not worry about it
____Do it, but worry about it after

28. Are you nearly always able to control your feelings so that people can't see that you are getting mad or boiling inside?

____Yes; ____No.

29. What kind of job do you want to have when you quit school? (like minister, salesman, plumber, or truck driver)____

30. What kind of job do your parents want you to have when you quit school? (like minister, salesman, plumber, or truck driver)________________________________

31. Do you usually go around with a bunch of others or by yourself?

____A gang with its own name
____With a bunch of others who belong together
____With just one or two others
____By myself

32. How many nights last week did you run around with your friends? (CIRCLE ANSWER)

0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

33. Have you done any of the following at least once? (CHECK AS MANY AS FIT YOU)

____Been on Juvenile Court probation
____Been [illegible] part of a year in school
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]
____[illegible]

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

34. Have you done any of the following more than once? (CHECK AS MANY AS FIT YOU)

____Had a part in a school play or program
____Run away from home
____Been recognized for high grades
____Run around with kids who got into trouble with the law
____Gotten drunk
____Failed a school subject
____Dated someone who is more than 10 years older than you

35. Do your parents know who your friends are?

____All of them
____Most of them
____Some of them
____None of them
____I don't know

36. If your friends want you to do something and your parents tell you not to do it, whom would you follow?

____Parents ____Friends

37. Do you think young people should be allowed to do any of the following now:

____Quit school and go to work full time
____Get married while going to high school
____Marry without their parents' approval
____Date whom they want

38. Do you usually find it hard to go to sleep at night?

____Yes; ____No

39. Do you feel that your father lets you do things at one time which he won't let you do some other time?

____Very often
____Often
____Occasionally
____Seldom
____Never
____My father is not with us

40. How about your mother, do you feel that she lets you do things at one time which she won't let you do some other time?

____Very often
____Often
____Occasionally
____Seldom
____Never
____My mother is not with us

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

41. Do you do any of the following things pretty often? (CHECK AS MANY AS FIT YOU)

____Stay out after midnight
____Drag race on a public street or highway
____Have unexcused absences from school
____Help a teacher after school
____Go to a bar or night club
____Gamble
____Break a window on purpose
____Drink beer or whiskey
____Have dates
____Break laws
____Smoke
____Study at home in the evening
____Swipe things

42. In general, do you think the people in Nashville get a square deal from the courts and police?

____Yes; ____No

43. I often think of things too bad to talk about.

____Yes; ____No

44. I hate school because I am always failing.

____Yes; ____No

45. Is there anyone you want to get even with?

____Yes; ____No

46. I am often troubled by nightmares.

____Yes; ____No

47. What grade in school or year in college have your parents always wanted you to finish before you quit going to school?

Mother:______ Father:______

48. What grade in school or year in college do you want to finish before you quit going to school?______________________________

49. When I get mad, I usually get into a fist fight.

____Yes; ____No

50. Do you often think about what kind of work you want to do when you leave school?

____Yes; ____No

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

51. I often am forced to get mad in order to get what is coming to me.

____Yes; ____No

52. I worry a lot about going to hell.

____Yes; ____No

53. Do you sometimes feel like smashing other people's things to get even?

____Yes; ____No

54. Will you be satisfied if you make the same amount of money as your father?

____Yes; ____No

55. I feel I want to quit school because I am forced to go.

____Yes; ____No

56. Frequently I dream about doing terrible things which I would never think of doing if I were awake.

____Yes; ____No

57. I often feel guilty when I've done something wrong.

____Yes; ____No

58. Do you often have to fight to get your rights?

____Yes; ____No

59. Do you always feel nervous?

____Yes; ____No

60. I like to see people who think they're so good get what's coming to them.

____Yes; ____No

61. Sometimes I have stolen things just for the fun of it.

____Yes; ____No

62. Would you date a person who was ten years older then you?

____Yes; ____No

63. I don't pass up a chance to have a good time just because I may get into trouble with the law.

____Yes; ____No

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64. You and a friend are whispering in the back of the classroom and your friend says something that makes you laugh. The teacher sees you and really gives you a strong scolding. Which one of these statements is most like what you would FEEL like saying to the teacher? (Check One)

____Why don't you mind your own business.
____Why pick on me, I don't make any more noise than the others.
____I'm sorry I disturbed the class.
____I didn't think I was doing anything wrong.
____It wasn't my fault, I just had to laugh.
____You teachers have it in for me.
____I'm sorry, I promise never to do it again.

65. You have just finished some work that your father asked you to do. You've done it as fast as you could but when you're finished, he asks, "What took you so long?" Which of these statements is most like what you would FEEL like saying? (Check One)

____You do it next time if you think that you can do it any faster.
____It took longer because everything seemed to go wrong.
____I didn't know that I took so long.
____I'm sorry, I'll try to do it faster next time.
____There's no use in trying to please you.
____I just couldn't do it faster.
____I'm sorry I took so long.

66. You are coming home from a football game, and you are shouting and cutting up because your team won when a policeman stops you and tells you that you are disturbing the neighborhood and that you must stop immediately. Which of these statements is most like what you would FEEL like saying to him? (Check One)

____Some old so-and-so is always complaining.
____I'm sorry I made so much noise.
____I wasn't bothering anybody.
____I'll yell if I want to and to heck with you.
____I'm sorry and I promise never to do it again.
____I didn't know that I was bothering anybody.

67. Your mother finds out that you went to a movie when you promised that you wouldn't. Which of these statements is most like what you would FEEL like saying to her if your mother scolded you?

____I'm sorry, I'll always do what I promise from now on.
____It wasn't my fault; my friend wanted to go to the movie.
____I wasn't doing anything wrong.
____Why do you always have to know every move I make?
____I'm sorry I didn't keep my promise.
____It seems that what I do never pleases you.
____I didn't know I was really doing anything wrong.

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SOME GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOU

WE DO NOT WANT TO KNOW YOUR NAME, but we would like to know some things about you. Most of these questions can be answered by placing a check in the box which fits you.

1. When is your birthday?____________
(month) (day)

2. Are you a boy____or a girl____?

3. Do you go to church?____yes;____no.

4. If yes, please check the kind of church you usually go to:
____Baptist (Southern or Missionary)
____Church of Christ
____Methodist
____Presbyterian (except Cumberland Presbyterian)
____Any of these: Church of God, Cumberland Presbyterian, Holiness, Nazarene (Circle One)
____Episcopal
____Other Protestant (name:__________)
____Catholic
____Jewish
____Don't know what kind

5. Does your father go to church?
____Yes, to the church I go to
____Yes, to some other church
____No, he doesn't go to church

6. Does your mother go to church?
____Yes, to the church I go to
____Yes, to some other church
____No, she doesn't go to church

7. How often do you go to Sunday School, church, or young people's meeting?
____never go
____less than once a week
____once a week
____more than once a week
____more than twice a week

8. Does your mother go to PTA meetings?
____Yes
____No

9. How long has your family lived in your present home? (Check One)
____less than a year
____1 year
____2 years
____3 years
____4 to 7 years
____8 years or longer

10. Where did you live before you moved to your present home? (Check One)
____I've always lived where I do now
____within 5 or 6 blocks of where we live now
____somewhere else in Nashville
____out in the county
____somewhere else in Tennessee
____in the state of__________.

11. Where did you spend most of your life up to now? (Check One)
____a big city like Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, or Memphis
____a small city like Columbia, Murfreesboro, or Clarksville
____a small town like Lebanon or Franklin
____the country

12. Are your real mother and real father:
____living together?
____father dead: How old were you when he died?____years.
____mother dead: How old were you when she died?____years.
____parents divorced?____years
____parents separated: How old were you when they separated?____years.
____adopted: How old were you?____years.

13. Does any grown-up relative like a grandparent, aunt, or uncle live in your home?
____yes;____no

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14. Whom do you live with now?
____real mother and real father
____real mother and step-father
____real father and step-mother
____real mother only
____real father only
____other__________________

15. Does your father have a job?
____yes
____no
____father is dead
____father doesn't live with us

16. What kind of title does your father give his job? (like minister, salesman in a store, barber, plumber's helper, or truck driver)____________

17. What kind of work does he do on this job? (like if he's a truck driver, does he drive a gravel truck or a milk truck?
____

18. Does your father's job often take him away from home for more than a day?
____yes
____no

19. Has your father ever been away from the family for a year or more?
____yes____no How old were you when he was away?____years.

20. Does your father go to PTA or school Men's Club meetings?
____Yes
____No

21. Does your mother have a job outside the home?
____Yes
____No

22. If your mother has a job, what kind of work does she do?
____

23. Is her job full-time?____Yes____No

24. Do you have any job outside your home?
____Yes
____No

25. If yes, what kind of work do you do on this job?
____

26. How many hours do you work on this job each week?______hours

27. How far did your father go in school?
____left school before 8th grade
____finished 8th grade
____some high school, but didn't finish
____finished high school
____some college, but didn't finish
____finished college

28. How far did your mother go in school?
____left school before 8th grade
____finished 8th grade
____some high school, but didn't finish
____finished high school
____some college, but didn't finish
____finished college

29. How many older brothers do you have? (Circle answer)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

30. How many younger brothers do you have? (Circle answer)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

31. How many older sisters do you have? (Circle answer)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

32. How many younger sisters do you have? (Circle answer)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

33. Do you belong to school organizations, clubs, o activities? (Circle answer)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

34. Do you hold office or act as leader in any of these?(Circle number of clubs in which you hol office or act as leader)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

35. How do you feel about answering all the questions in this study?
They're a waste of time.____Yes____No
I told the truth on all of them.____Yes____No